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AUG 3 1922

# CURRENT HISTORY

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## Labor Unions in American Life

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# Are We a Nation of Low-Brows?

*It is charged that the public is intellectually incompetent. Is this true? It is charged that the public is afraid of ideas, disinclined to think, unfriendly to culture. This is a serious matter. The facts should be faced frankly and honestly.*

## Without Cultural Leadership.

The main criticism, as we find it, is that the people support ventures that are unworthy, that represent no cultural standards. The public is fed on low-brow reading matter, low-brow movies, low-brow theatrical productions, low-brow music, low-brow newspapers, low-brow magazines. As for ourselves, we think the criticism is unfair in that it does not recognize the fact that the public is without cultural leadership. Those who have the divine spark get off by themselves. We believe the public has never had a real chance, never had an opportunity to get acquainted with the great and the beautiful things of life. Given half a chance, we think the public will respond.

We believe there has been enough talk about the public's inferior taste.

The time has come to give the public an opportunity to find out something about philosophy, science and the higher things. And the thing must be done at a low price, because the average person's pocketbook is not fat. As it stands, the publishers charge about five dollars a volume, and then wonder why the people stand aloof.

We believe we have hit on a way to find out if the people are interested in the deeper problems of life. And the first thing we decided was to fix a price that shall be within the reach of the person with the most slender purse.

We have selected a library of 25 books, which we are going to offer the public at an absurdly low price. We shall do this to find out if it is true that the public is not going to accept the better things when once

given the chance. And we shall make the price so reasonable, so inviting, that there shall be no excuse on the ground of expense.

## All Great Things Are Simple.

Once the contents of the following 25 books are absorbed and digested, we believe a person will be well on the road to culture. And by culture we do not mean something dry-as-dust, something incomprehensible to the average mind—genuine culture, like great sculpture, can be made to delight the common as well as the elect. The books listed below are all simple works and yet they are great—all great things are simple. They are serious works, of course, but we do not think the public will refuse to put its mind on serious topics. Here are the 25 books:

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**Whatever Your Question;**—be it the pronunciation of Bolsheviki, the spelling of a puzzling word, the location of Murman Coast—the meaning of blighty, ace, tank, ukulele, etc., this Supreme Authority—

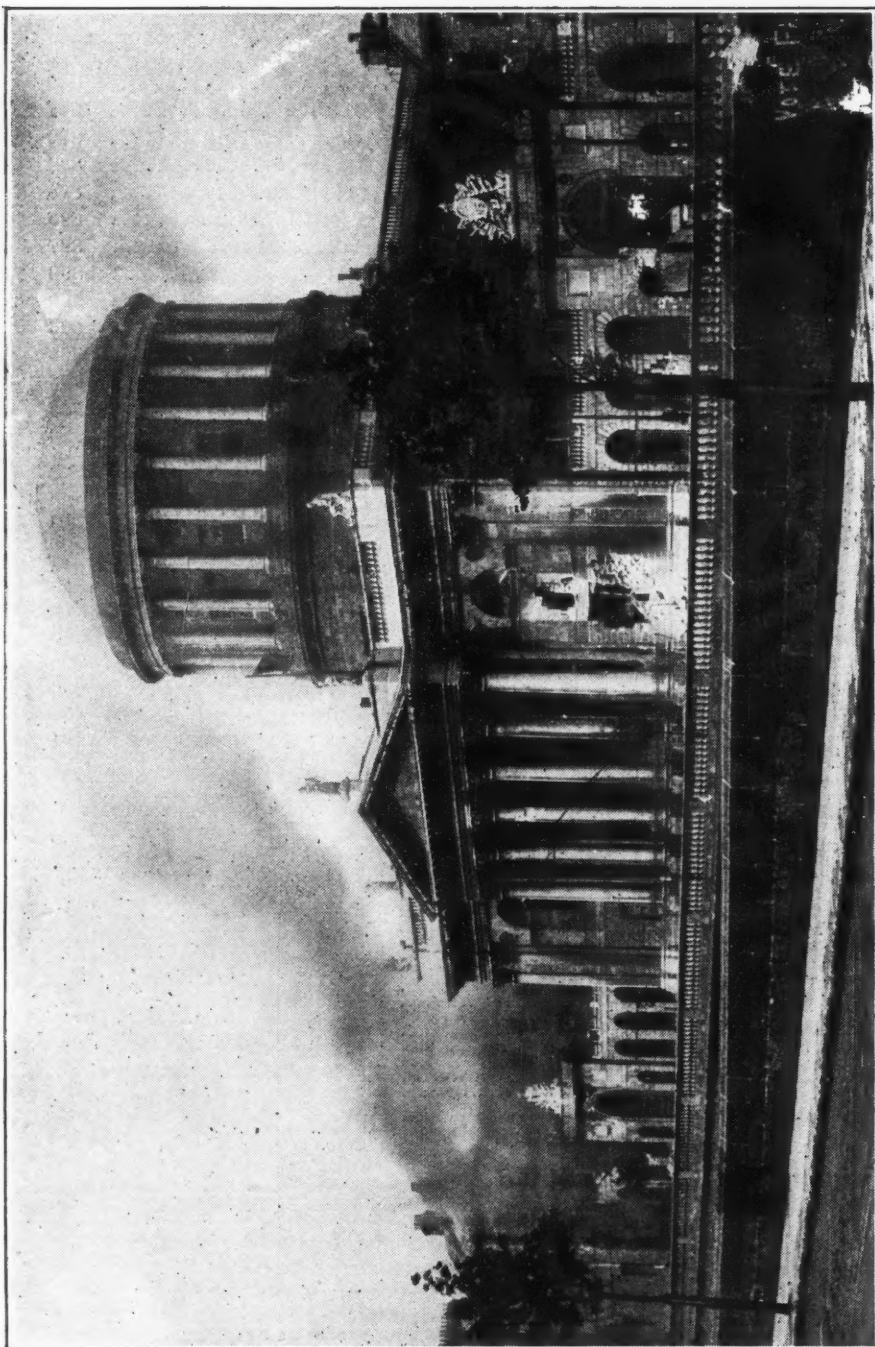
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(© Wide World Photos)

Four Courts Building, Dublin, shattered by shell fire and beginning to burn. Photographed just before the surrender of the irregulars, who used the building as a fort. Note the green flag of the rebel army still flying.

[American Cartoon]



—© Chicago Tribune

A DEADLY BREW

## THE MONTH IN THE UNITED STATES

*Nation to have an army of 125,000 and a navy of 86,000 men—Selling liquor on American ships a lively issue—New immigration quotas—President orders return of German patents*

[PERIOD ENDED JULY 15, 1922]

THE House and Senate conferees on the Army Appropriation bill reached a compromise, June 17, on an army of 125,000 enlisted men for the next twelve months. This represented a reduction of 8,000 from the Senate figures and an increase of 10,000 over the size of the army fixed by the House. The House delegation refused to accept a Senate provision fixing a maximum authorization of an army of 140,000 enlisted men, as well as the item appropriating pay for 133,000, as passed by the Senate. War Department representatives declared repeatedly in hearings on the bill that to reduce the present authorized strength of 150,000 was to go below the line of safety.

The meaning and effect of the compromise was stated by the War Department on June 23 to be that one out of every seven officers in the regular army must be turned out into civil life by Jan. 1. Two thousand or more officers must be dropped entirely within the next six months.

The annual Navy Appropriation bill carrying approximately \$259,450,000 and providing for an enlisted personnel of 86,000 men was passed on June 19 by the Senate and sent to conference with the House. The latter on June 23 accepted the bill in its main features.

The Administration Ship Subsidy bill was favorably reported to the House on June 16 by the Merchant Marine and Fish-



eries Committee without any of the amendments relating to the sale of liquor on vessels. The Bankhead proposal to refuse subsidy to any American ship that sold liquor was defeated by a party vote and the proposal of Representative Edmonds to take steps to bar out any vessel, American or foreign, which sold liquor, was not pressed.

On June 20, President Harding gave his assent to the plan of the House leaders to postpone action on the Ship Subsidy bill in that body until after the Tariff bill had been passed by the Senate and sent to conference, which it was expected would probably be in August. In giving his assent, however, the President let it be known that if Congress adjourned without passing the Subsidy bill he would take the issue to the country and call a special session to enact this legislation.

#### SELLING LIQUOR ON SHIPS

A new and sensational angle of prohibition enforcement was brought to the fore on June 14 by the publication of a letter from Adolphus Busch, First Vice President of the Anheuser-Busch Brewing Company of St. Louis, to President Harding, accusing the United States Shipping Board of openly selling wines and liquors on Government-owned passenger vessels in alleged violation of the Eighteenth Amend-

ment and the Volstead law. In the letter it was declared that the "Shipping Board vessels are the wettest on the ocean," and to that statement was added: "This makes the United States the biggest bootlegger in the world."

There was an immediate response from the Shipping Board. Chairman Lasker gave to the newspapers a letter that he had written to Mr. Busch, whose communication had been referred by the President to Mr. Lasker. The latter admitted the charge that wines and liquors were sold on Shipping Board vessels and defended their sale by quoting an opinion of General Counsel Schlesinger of the Shipping Board that it was not a violation of the Volstead act to sell intoxicating beverages outside the three-mile limit of national jurisdiction over the seas.

Mr. Lasker stated that the founder of the Busch brewery interests had been an intimate friend of Kaiser Wilhelm, and accused the Busch family of trying to discredit the American Merchant Marine because they wanted to help German competitors of American shipping interests. He also accused the Busch family of making the complaint in order to discredit prohibition for their own selfish purposes.

Outside of their bearing on the Government's enforcement of the prohibition law, the Busch charges were regarded as likely

[American Cartoon]



—Sioux City Tribune

LET US PREY!

to have an important bearing on President Harding's effort to induce Congress to pass the pending Administration Ship Subsidy bill during the current legislative session. There were indications that prohibitionists and anti-subsidy men in Congress intended to take advantage of the situation afforded by the Busch charges and Chairman Lasker's defense of liquor selling on Government-owned vessels.

The whole matter was referred to At-

[American Cartoon]



—Central Press Association

#### THE POISONED ARROW

orney General Daugherty, and he held an open hearing on the subject July 13, at which both sides of the question—as to whether liquor could lawfully be sold on American ships—were represented. The arguments for the prohibition case were made by Wayne B. Wheeler, Counsel for the Anti-Saloon League, who held that Congress did not grant to vessels of the United States Shipping Board any immunity from the penal laws of the United States.

The purpose of the Eighteenth Amendment [he said] is to prohibit the manufacture, sale and transportation of beverage liquor in all the territory subject to the jurisdiction of the United States. The Constitution follows the flag. Under no other theory of government could Americans or American ships be safe on the high seas. That Congress intended to prohibit the sale of liquor on such vessels is conclusively shown by the fact that it has consistently refused to enact legis-

[American Cartoon]



Nelson Harding  
—Brooklyn Eagle

#### BINDING UP THE NATION'S WOUNDS

lation authorizing it, though insistently besought to do so.

The chief point made by Mr. Campbell, who appeared as counsel for the American Ship Owners' Association, was that the Eighteenth Amendment by its language referred to the land area of the United States and applied to the three-mile limit, but neither it nor the Volstead act applied to the sale of liquor on the seas. He cited the fact that Congress passed a special dry act for the Canal Zone as showing that Congress did not regard the Volstead act as all-inclusive.

At the close of the hearing the Attorney General took the matter under adjustment and allowed one week for the filing of briefs, which was taken to mean that he purposed to hand down an early ruling.

#### LIQUOR SUPPLY CUT

On June 11 a report was made public by Prohibition Commissioner Haynes on the activities of his bureau during the year that he had been in office. Mr. Haynes declared that the withdrawals of whisky from bonded warehouses for the period from June, 1921, to April, 1922, had been 2,627,333 gallons, as compared with 9,696,122 gallons for the period from

June, 1920, to April, 1921. This declaration meant that the withdrawals under permits were cut down 7,068,789 gallons. He declared that diversion of alcohol withdrawn for manufacturing purposes had been reduced to a minimum and that great progress had been made in preventing permit frauds and in making violators of the law fearful of the consequences.

During the six months, July to December, 1920, 384 persons were convicted of offenses against the Volstead law, while during the corresponding six months of 1921 there were convictions totaling 1,109, for which fines amounting to \$64,083 were imposed, with the aggregate of sentences totaling 918 years.

#### FEWER DEATHS DUE TO ALCOHOL

Director Day of New York City informed Federal Prohibition Commissioner Haynes on June 15 that a large decrease in the death rate from alcoholic excesses had come about in New York City since the advent of prohibition. He said:

For the last few years, under the liquor license system, deaths were approximately 500 per cent. greater than in 1920 or 1921. The figures are those of the Bureau of Vital Statistics, New York City Health Department, and show that since prohibition went into effect decline in the alcoholic death rate has assumed extraordinary proportions.

For comparison, the year 1916 seems fair to accept under the license system, since so many men were in military training and war activities in the two years following. The years 1920 and 1921 seem fair to take as representative of prohibition, since 1919 was necessarily a period of organization.

In 1916 there were 690 deaths from alcohol in New York City; in 1920 127 deaths and in 1921 141 deaths.

In the seven years of license, 1910 to 1916, inclusive, there were 4,437 deaths from alcoholism, wood alcohol and alcohol poisoning, averaging 634 per year. In 1920 and 1921 there was a total of 268 deaths, or an average of 134 per year, as against 634 in the former years, or a decrease of some 500 per annum. In 1919 there were 38 deaths from wood alcohol; in 1920, 29, and in 1921, 14 such deaths, or only 8 more than in 1910, when all kinds of alcoholic beverages were plentiful.

Life insurance figures also show that in 1917 the death rate due to alcoholism was 4.9 per 100,000 policy holders, while in 1921 the ratio was 0.9, or only one-fifth of the figure for 1917.

Figures for 1921 show a decided decrease in deaths due to apoplexy, heart disease and chronic nephritis. Chronic nephritis had the lowest mortality rate of eleven years; heart disease and apoplexy the lowest of the period from 1911 except for 1919. The mortality rate for all three diseases was at a lower rate than in any wet year.

#### NEW IMMIGRANT QUOTAS

The number of aliens to be admitted to the United States during the coming fiscal year, under the new 3 per cent. restrictive immigration act, was fixed on June 18 by the Labor Department at 357,903, as compared with 355,825 for last year. The increase was due to the inclusion of the foreign-born inhabitants of Alaska, Hawaii and Porto Rico, and to the merging of the Smyrna, Turkish and Turkish-Armenian territories. Germany's quota was reduced from 68,039 to 67,607 because of the transfer of population of Poland under the Upper Silesian settlement. Spain's quota was increased from 663 to 912. A separate quota was fixed for Russian Armenia.

The number of aliens admissible from the principal countries include Austria, 7,451; Belgium, 1,568; Czechoslovakia, 14,357; Germany, 67,607; Italy, 42,057; Norway, 12,202; Poland, 21,076; Rumania, 7,419; Russia (European and Asiatic), 21,613; Sweden, 20,042; United Kingdom, 77,342; Turkey (European and Asiatic, including Smyrna region and Turkish-Armenian region), 2,388; Greece, 3,294; Hungary, 5,638, and Denmark, 5,619.

The number of white residents of the United States on Jan. 1, 1920, who were foreign-born or declared one or both parents foreign-born was 36,398,958, the Department of Commerce announced June 28 in a compilation of the 1920 census figures. This was an increase in the "foreign white stock" of the nation's population from 1910 of 4,155,576, or 12.9 per cent.

The 1920 total includes 13,713,754 immigrants and 22,686,204 persons born in this country, one or both of whose parents were immigrants.

#### BONUS ACTION POSTPONED

By a vote of 27 to 11 the Senate Republican caucus on June 19 voted to postpone consideration of the soldiers' bonus until after the Fordney-McCumber Tariff bill had been disposed of, after which it was agreed that the bonus should be made the unfinished business of the Senate and kept continually before the chamber until passed.

A motion by Senator McCumber that the Tariff bill be immediately displaced.



and the bonus receive the right of way was voted down, 30 to 9, the nine Senators who voted for the motion being McCumber, Lenroot, Kellogg, Capper, Jones of Washington, Townsend, Nicholson, Sutherland and Norbeck. As the vote showed, twenty-one of the Republican

000,000, as against \$5,538,000,000 during 1921.

The gross debt of the United States on June 30 amounted to \$22,963,000,000, as compared with \$23,138,000,000 on May 31, with \$23,977,000,000 on June 30, 1921, and with \$26,596,000,000 on Aug. 31, 1919, when the war debt was at its peak.

[American Cartoon]



VERSATILITY  
—From an "anti" brochure

PROHIBITION AFLOAT

Senators did not attend the caucus. This does not mean, however, that the absentees were all for the bonus, for among those who were not there were Messrs. Borah, Pepper, Frelinghuysen, France and Nelson, all of whom are against the bonus plan now on the Senate calendar.

#### PUBLIC DEBT REDUCED

A reduction of \$1,014,000,000 in the public debt during the fiscal year ended June 30, with a further reduction of \$175,000,000 during June, was announced on July 3 by the Treasury Department. At the same time the Treasury stated that the final figures of receipts and expenditures for the fiscal year revealed a surplus of \$314,000,000. The ordinary receipts of the Government for the fiscal year 1921 amounted to \$4,109,000,000, as compared with \$5,625,000,000 the previous year, while the expenditures, chargeable against ordinary receipts, amounted to \$3,795,-

#### FEWER MILLION-DOLLAR INCOMES

The preliminary statistics on personal incomes in 1920 made public at Washington June 13 showed that only thirty-three persons reported incomes of \$1,000,000 or more, as compared with sixty-five in 1919 and sixty-seven in 1918. The falling off in large incomes reported, due to heavy investments in tax-exempt bonds and declining profits, was further emphasized by the statement that the thirty-three net incomes of over \$1,000,000 in 1920 totaled but \$77,078,139. The comparative totals of net incomes of \$1,000,000 or more for 1919 and 1918 were \$152,650,245 and \$137,486,892 respectively. In commenting on the 1920 income conditions, Commissioner Blair said in his report:

The number of personal returns filed as of the calendar year ended Dec. 31, 1920, was 7,259,944. The total amount of net income reported by these returns was \$23,735,629,183 and the tax (normal tax and surtax) amounted to \$1,075,053,686. As compared with 1919, the above figures show a growth of 1,927,184 in the number of returns filed and an increase in the total net income reported amounting to \$3,876,137,735, but a decrease of \$194,576,418 in the total tax. The average net income per return for 1920 was \$3,269.40, the average amount of tax \$148.08, and the average tax rate 4.53 per cent.

An interesting table in the report shows the growth of taxable income covering several years. The figures for 1920 and 1919 are here given:

NUMBER OF RETURNS			
Income.	Classes.	1920.	1919.
\$1,000 to	\$2,000.....	2,671,950	1,924,872
2,000 to	3,000.....	2,569,316	1,569,741
3,000 to	5,000.....	1,337,116	1,180,488
5,000 to	10,000.....	455,442	438,851
10,000 to	25,000.....	171,830	162,485
25,000 to	50,000.....	38,548	37,477
50,000 to	100,000.....	12,093	13,320
100,000 to	150,000.....	2,191	2,983
150,000 to	300,000.....	1,063	1,864
300,000 to	500,000.....	239	425
500,000 to	1,000,000.....	123	189
1,000,000 and over.....		33	65
Total.....		7,259,944	5,332,760

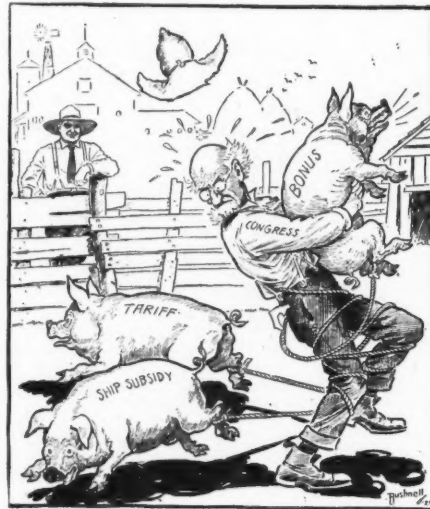
## RETURN OF GERMAN PATENTS

President Harding, on July 1, directed Colonel Thomas W. Miller, the Alien Property Custodian, to demand from the Chemical Foundation of New York, which is headed by Francis P. Garvan, former Alien Property Custodian, the return to the Government of all the German and other enemy alien patents taken over by the Foundation under arrangements with the Government during Mr. Garvan's incumbency as Alien Property Custodian.

In an executive order issued by the President in the form of a letter to Colonel Miller, the latter was directed to confer with the Attorney General, and if necessary institute suit for the return of the patents and the proceeds therefrom, dating from the time the patents were obtained by the Foundation from the Government.

Charges that the Chemical Foundation acquired German patents worth from \$15,000,000 to \$20,000,000 for the sum of \$250,000 had been made several times in both houses of Congress by Senators Frelinghuysen of New Jersey and Moses of New Hampshire, both Republicans. On April 11 and again on June 22 Representative Woodruff of Michigan, another Republican, whose sensational charges in the

[American Cartoon]



—Central Press Association

POWERFUL BUSY, BUT NOT GETTING ANYWHERE

House were intended as a spur to Attorney General Daugherty to begin prosecution of war frauds, asserted that the Government had been defrauded on a gigantic scale by the Chemical Foundation.

Francis P. Garvan, President of the Chemical Foundation, charged on July 7 that President Harding's order followed a conference in Washington—at the Attorney General's office—between German lawyers representing the Organic Chemical Industry in Germany and two New York attorneys, representatives of Attorney General Daugherty. This conference was held, Mr. Garvan stated, on June 27. On July 1 the President's order to Colonel Miller was announced. Previously, Mr. Garvan had alleged that the whole proposition of forcing the Chemical Foundation to give up the patents, which it had purchased for \$250,000 from the Government, was a trick of the Germans to get back into their own hands control of important drug and dye processes. Mr. Garvan stated that the Foundation would fight the case and carry it, if necessary, to the Supreme Court.

On July 10 it was announced that Attorney General Daugherty had begun criminal proceedings against the Chemical Foundation and its officers and that a subpoena had been served on Francis P.

[American Cartoon]



—© New York Tribune

BETTER BEGIN ON SOMETHING SIMPLE

[American Cartoon]



—Rochester Democrat and Chronicle  
RAVAGES OF THE RUM BUG

Garvan, President of the Foundation, calling for the production, on July 11, of all the books and papers of the Foundation before a Grand Jury in Washington. A statement was issued by the Department of Justice in which it was admitted that German representatives had called at the Attorney General's office in connection with a suit to be instituted by them against the Government on behalf of their clients, but it was added that their visit had had nothing to do with the action taken by the President, which, on the contrary, was the outcome of many weeks of careful investigation.

#### RAILROADS' OPERATING INCOME

While reports filed by the railroads with the Interstate Commerce Commission, and published July 7, showed that their net operating income increased in May last by more than one-quarter the amount received in May, 1921, the net operating income in May of this year represented a return of only 4.36 per cent. on their tentative valuation computed on an annual basis.

The net operating income for May, 1922, was \$61,980,600 against \$36,943,248 in May, 1921, and \$50,271,865 in April,

1922. Tabulations show that the amount for May, 1922, fell short \$23,230,900 of the necessary sum to realize a return of 6 per cent., and short \$19,680,500 below a return of  $5\frac{3}{4}$  per cent. Operating revenue in May totaled \$448,947,900, an increase of nine-tenths of 1 per cent. over the same month last year, while operating expenses totaled \$363,583,800, a decrease of 6.4 per cent. compared with the same month last year.

#### CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS PROPOSED BY LABOR

Four amendments to the Constitution of the United States and repeal of the Sherman Anti-Trust law were recommended to the convention of the American Federation of Labor in session at Cincinnati, Ohio, June 21, as a means of depriving the Federal Courts of "the despotic powers which they have assumed, and to make our Government in full measure a Government of the people, for the people and by the people."

The proposal, submitted by the Special Committee on Court Decisions, urged that labor enlist the aid of all "fair-minded and liberty-loving" citizens in a campaign

[American Cartoon]



—Rochester Democrat and Chronicle  
JUST WHEN THEY WERE GETTING ACQUAINTED



for the adoption of constitutional amendments providing for prohibition of child labor, specific exemption from legislative or judicial limitation of the right of labor to organize, to deal collectively or to boycott; establishment of a Congressional veto over the decisions of the United States Supreme Court, and "easier amendment of the United States Constitution," the method not being specified.

#### MOVE TO END MINE STRIKE

President Harding, on July 10, laid before the operators and miners of the anthracite and bituminous coal fields a threefold proposal for settling the strike that had been in effect since April 1. The administration plan, put forward after it was finally established that the operators and miners could not effect a compromise by themselves, proposed:

The immediate resumption of work by the miners at the wage scale of March 31 last. The determination of permanent wage levels by commission arbitration, and a Federal inquiry to make an exhaustive investigation of every phase of the coal industry, with a view to a thoroughgoing reorganization.

By the terms of the President's proposal, the Wage Commission, composed of three members to be named by the operators, three by the miners and five by the President, would endeavor to establish a temporary wage scale by Aug. 10, this scale to remain effective until March 1, 1923. The miners were asked to return to work on the scale of wages which expired on April 1, 1922, when the present strike was started. It was provided further that should the commission be unable to determine upon a new temporary wage scale by Aug. 10, the old scale would be continued until this part of the commission's work was completed. The operators and miners took the proposal under consideration, with a promise to reply as soon as possible.

#### STRIKE RIOTS IN ILLINOIS

Nineteen miners met death at the hands of a mob of union mine strikers in the Southern Illinois coal district on June 22 and 23. Savagery marked the attack and many of the victims were massacred in

cold blood. The outbreak took place in the vicinity of Herrin and Marion, Ill. In addition to the deaths the strip mine of the Southern Illinois Coal Company was ruined; tracks, buildings and hundreds of thousands of dollars' worth of equipment were dynamited and burned.

The attack was made by strikers and on men who had taken their places in the mines. Some of the latter were shot, some clubbed to death and others hanged to trees near the roadside. In the investigation made on June 25 entire responsibility for the riot and massacre was placed by the Coroner's jury on the officials of the Southern Illinois Coal Company, whose actions, it was asserted, had provoked the outbreak. An investigation was to be undertaken by the State.

#### RAIL PAY CUT

A cut of \$26,500,000 a year in the pay of 325,000 rail workers, the bulk of them in clerical and station forces, was announced on June 16 by the Railroad Labor Board. The reductions ranged from 2 cents to 6 cents an hour, nearly two-thirds of those affected losing 3 cents.

The order reduced the pay of 208,500 clerks and station employees 3 cents an hour, 76,000 others 4 cents an hour, 10,000 signalmen 5 cents an hour, 9,500 stationary firemen, engineers and oilers 2 cents an hour, and 2,000 helpers in the signal department 6 cents an hour.

Train dispatchers and supervisory forces were not affected. The reduction, the third and last of the series, which went into effect on July 1, brought the aggregate reductions in railroad payrolls to \$134,988,919 a year, affecting about 1,250,000 workers under normal conditions of employment.

As tabulated by the board's experts, the cuts made by the series of wage reductions were as follows:

Clerical and station forces.....	\$24,336,317
Stationary engines and boiler room..	551,954
Signal department .....	1,532,429
Maintenance of way.....	48,898,873
Shop employees .....	59,669,347
Total.....	\$134,988,919

#### STRIKE OF THE RAILWAY SHOP

Following the announcement of the cut in wages, the railway shopmen voted to

strike on July 1, and on that date a number, estimated at 90 per cent., quit work. After a few days' operation, many of the railroads were compelled to lay off a number of their trains because of the depletion of their working forces. A blow was dealt to the strike when the maintenance-of-way employees refused to join in a sympathetic strike on the ground that it was not wise for their membership to leave the service of the carriers until every resource had been exhausted that afforded hope of a peaceful adjustment. A statement issued by the Railroad Labor Board pledged that any workman who might take the place of the strikers would be fully protected by the Government. Alleged interference, in sporadic cases, with the movement of the United States mails brought a statement from Attorney General Daugherty that Federal Marshals would be sent wherever needed to protect the movements of mail trains. It was stated in Washington, on July 13, that the War Department was

ready to order out Federal troops at once in any case where the State authorities, having exhausted their own powers, might call in the assistance of the Federal Government.

The President, on July 11, issued a proclamation directing all persons to refrain from interference with lawful efforts to maintain interstate transportation and the carrying of the United States mails.

These activities and the maintenance of the supremacy of the law [the proclamation stated] are the first obligations of the Government and all the citizenship of our country, and therefore I invite co-operation of all public authorities, State and municipal, and the aid of all good citizens to uphold the laws and to preserve the public peace, and to facilitate those operations in safety which are essential to life and liberty and the security of property and our common public welfare.

About 90,000 more joined the strike on July 14, when the American Federation of Railroad Workers, with headquarters at Cleveland, voted to support the shopmen.

#### PHILIPPINE ISLANDS

Twenty-nine members of a mission sent by the Philippine Legislature to Washington were received on June 17 by President Harding, who listened to one of the strongest demands yet made by the Filipinos for immediate and absolute independence. The mission was headed by Manuel L. Quezon, President of the Philippine Senate. President Harding promised to give a reply in a few days, and on June 22 he delivered it, saying that "the time is not yet for independence." Secretary Weeks had already warned the delegates that neither he nor the President was in favor of granting immediate independence. The mission was received in New York on July 5 by Acting Mayor Murray Hulbert, and dined in the evening by the Philippine-American Chamber of Commerce.

[American Cartoon]



—Tacoma News-Tribune

A BLOT ON AMERICA'S NAME

## PLAN TO END AMERICAN RULE IN SANTO DOMINGO

SECRETARY HUGHES issued a statement on July 11, 1922, announcing in detail the plan for withdrawal of the American military forces from the Republic of Santo Domingo and the restoration of full governmental powers to the Dominican people. The representative Dominicans with whom these conferences were held are Senor Frederico Velasquez, and Dr. Francisco Peynado, formerly Dominican Minister in the United States.

The paragraphs of Secretary Hughes's statement outlining the plan of withdrawal are as follows:

A Provisional Government, composed of Dominican citizens and selected by representatives of the Dominican people, will be installed to enable the citizens of the Dominican Republic to carry out such legislative reforms as they may desire, and to make such amendments to their Constitution as they may deem appropriate, and to hold general elections for the installation of a subsequent permanent Government without the intervention of the authorities of the United States.

The representatives of the Dominican people, who will select the members of the executive power of the Provisional Government, will determine the conditions placed upon the exercise of that Government, and the said representatives will fill the vacancies that may occur in the Provisional Government on account of the death, resignation or disability of any of its members.

The Military Government will delegate to the Provisional Government administrative powers to carry out freely the aforesaid purposes.

Upon the inauguration of the Provisional Government, the executive departments of the Dominican Republic will be turned over to the Cabinet Ministers appointed by the Provisional President. The officials now in charge of the executive departments of the Military Government will lend their assistance to the respective Secretaries of State of the Provisional Government. No payment will be made by the Department of Finance except in accordance with the provisions of the budget, but any necessary item or expenditures not provided for in the budget will be appropriated by the Provisional Government in agreement with the Military Government.

Immediately upon the installation of the Provisional Government, the Military Government will deliver to that Government the national palace, and, at the same time, the military forces of the United States in the Dominican Republic will be concentrated in one, two or three places, as may be determined by the Military Governor. From that time peace and order will be maintained by the Dominican National Police, under the orders of the Provisional Gov-

ernment, except in the case of serious disturbances, which, in the opinion of the Provisional Government and the Military Government, cannot be suppressed by the Dominican National Police.

Dominican plenipotentiaries will be designated by the Provisional Government to negotiate a convention with the United States, containing only the following provisions:

"Recognition by the Dominican Government of the validity of all the executive and department orders promulgated by the Military Government and published by the Official Gazette, which may have levied taxes, authorized expenditures or established rights on behalf of third persons, and of the contracts which may have been entered into in accordance with those orders, or with any law of the republic, and specific recognition by the Dominican Government, in accordance with the foregoing, of the bond issues authorized in 1918 and in 1922.

"Agreement between the two Governments that the convention signed on Feb. 8, 1907, between the United States and the Dominican Republic shall remain in force so long as any bonds of the issues of 1918 and 1922 shall remain unpaid, and that the duties of the general receiver of Dominican customs, appointed in accordance with that convention, shall be extended to include the collection and application of the revenues pledged for the service of these bond issues, in accordance with the terms of the executive orders and of the contracts under which these bonds have been issued.

"After a National Congress has been elected by general elections, held in accordance with the Constitution, the convention above mentioned will be submitted to it for its approval. Thereupon, after the legislative reforms and the reforms in the Constitution in which the Dominican people may desire have been carried into effect, if the convention above referred to has been approved by the National Congress, elections will be held in accordance with the Constitution for the election of the members of the executive power. Upon the assumption of office by the Constitutional President of the Dominican Republic, the said convention will be approved by him and the Provisional Government will thereupon terminate. Immediately thereafter the American military forces of occupation will leave the Dominican Republic."

To ascertain whether the plan embraced in this agreement is acceptable to the Dominican people, President Harding has appointed Sumner Welles, former Chief of the Latin-American Division of the State Department, to go to Santo Domingo with the rank of Minister and report on political conditions and the views of the people on the subject.



## DEATH OF CHARLES RANSOM MILLER

**C**HARLES RANSOM MILLER, editor-in-chief of THE NEW YORK TIMES, who died on July 18, was for nearly forty years the guiding intelligence, "watchful and poised and serene," that stood behind the editorial pages of that newspaper. His rare equipment for his work was summed up in these words by a fellow-member of his staff in an editorial in THE NEW YORK TIMES after his passing:

The resources which he brought to his daily task were unrivaled. In addition to his native gifts, special aptitudes and varied training in journalism, he had large stores of experience and of reflection, on which to draw at need. Deeply read in history, versed in law, steeped in international precedents, at home in all the developments of American politics, with a firm grasp of economic principles, a master of several languages, a lover and cultivator of literature and the fine arts, he possessed an equipment that removed him far from the editorial improviser. Behind his writing lay broad and accurate knowledge which had been caught up by his brooding thought and wrought into a consistent body of opinion and conviction.

Mr. Miller was born in Hanover, N. H., in 1849, was graduated from Dartmouth College in 1872, and got his first training in journalism on The Springfield Republican under the elder Samuel Bowles. After three years there he joined the staff of THE NEW YORK TIMES on July 7, 1875, and by the time he was 34 years old he had become editor-in-chief, a position which he continued to hold to the end of

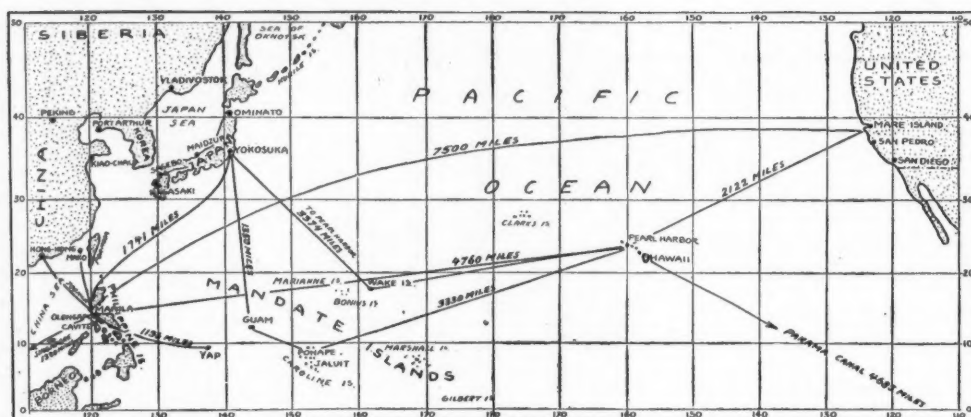


CHARLES RANSOM MILLER  
Editor-in-Chief of The New York Times for Forty Years.  
Born Jan. 17, 1849; Died July 18, 1922.

his life. In an introduction to the "History of The New York Times," Mr. Adolph S. Ochs made the following acknowledgment:

"\* \* \* to Charles R. Miller, who from the beginning has been my editor-in-chief, whose wholehearted sympathy with my opinions and my aims and purposes with THE TIMES has been an inspiration. His scholarly attainments, his facility and lucidity of expression, broad vision, extraordinary knowledge of public affairs, having a statesman's conception of their proper conduct, and his lofty patriotism have made the editorial page of THE NEW YORK TIMES consulted and respected throughout the world, and distinguished it as the foremost exponent of enlightened American public opinion."

Mr. Miller's death called forth words of esteem and regret from prominent men in all parts of America and Europe. President Harding sent a telegram testifying to a "long-maintained admiration for his public services."



Map of the Pacific Ocean and some of its strategic lines. Because of the convex surface of the globe, the line connecting San Francisco with Manila is curved on this illustration. It represents a straight line on the curved surface of the globe and is the shortest distance between the two points. It shows that in following the shortest route our fleet would have to run the gauntlet only a few hundred miles off the coasts of Japan's mainland.

## JAPAN'S NAVAL MASTERY IN ASIA

By GRASER SCHORNSTHEIMER\*

*An exhibit of facts to show that the Washington Arms Conference gave Japan the position she has sought for fifty years—Why the United States cannot cope with the Japanese Navy in Eastern waters—Japan is observing the treaty*

\*Mr. Schornstheimer is an associate of the United States Naval Institute. He was connected with the Navy Department in various capacities during the war. He is a writer on naval subjects, and enjoys close relations with the United States naval authorities.

**I**N all the diplomatic history of Japan there has been no victory quite so complete, so important, or one gained at so little cost, as her victory at the Washington Arms Conference. She has gained the position for which she has been struggling for fifty years, and accomplished it without bloodshed, and even without creating hard feelings.

She remains, as she was before the conference, the dominating military power of the East, but she is now entirely secure in that position, and no external military or naval alliances are necessary. All other nations must now stand back, despite the fact that the naval treaty leaves Japan 40 per cent. weaker than either the British Empire or the United States. The Anglo-

Japanese alliance has been terminated, and the Japanese Empire is no longer bound by agreements which it may be forced to keep.

It is true that Japan's strategic gains are relative; they will exist only so long as her treaty ratio is maintained at the highest point of efficiency. But with an adequate navy to back up the natural situation conceded to Japan in the naval treaty, it will be impossible for any nation to undertake major naval operations in Asiatic waters without the knowledge and consent of the Japanese. This removes the bar which has for so many years hindered the development of that nation's policies in China and elsewhere.

This is accomplished through the agency

of Article 19 of the naval treaty, which is quoted in full below:

#### ARTICLE 19

The United States, the British Empire and Japan agree that the status quo at the time of the signing of the present treaty, with regard to fortifications and naval bases, shall be maintained in their respective territories and possessions specified hereunder:

1. The insular possessions which the United States now holds or may hereafter acquire in the Pacific Ocean, except (a) those adjacent to the coast of the United States, Alaska and the Panama Canal Zone, not including the Aleutian Islands, and (b) the Hawaiian Islands;

2. Hongkong and the insular possessions which the British Empire now holds, or may hereafter acquire in the Pacific Ocean, east of the meridian of 110 degrees east longitude, except (a) those adjacent to the coast of Canada, (b) the Commonwealth of Australia and its territories, and (c) New Zealand;

(3) The following insular territories and possessions of Japan in the Pacific Ocean, to wit: the Kurile Islands, the Bonin Islands, Amami-Oshima, the Loochoo Islands, Formosa and the Pescadores, and any insular territories or possessions in the Pacific Ocean which Japan may hereafter acquire.

The maintenance of the status quo under the foregoing provisions implies that no new fortifications or naval bases shall be established in the territories and possessions specified; that no measures shall be taken to increase the existing naval facilities for the repair and maintenance of naval forces, and that no increases shall be made in the coast defenses of the territories and possessions above specified. This restriction, however, does not preclude such repair and replacement of worn-out weapons and equipment as is customary in naval and military establishments in time of peace.

#### THE STATUS QUO

In order to understand this agreement it is necessary to understand what the "status quo" was, to outline the bases of the various nations, together with their defenses and repair facilities. In the restricted area the United States now possesses several naval stations, the most important of which is Cavite, on Manila Bay, Island of Luzon. This base is fairly well defended from the sea by batteries of 12-inch guns, mounted at various points at the entrance to the bay. There is, however, only one drydock of any importance there, the Dewey, a floating basin capable of accommodating ships up to 15,000 tons displacement. It must, therefore, be remembered that the capital ships of today displace from 22,000 to 42,000 tons, and that those of tomorrow will displace 35,-

000 tons, according to the mandates of the naval treaty. At present Cavite is capable of maintaining only our Asiatic fleet of a few cruisers and gunboats. By the terms of Article 19, no further basing or defending facilities may be acquired at this or any other point in the Philippines, and so the value of the place is negligible in the event of war.

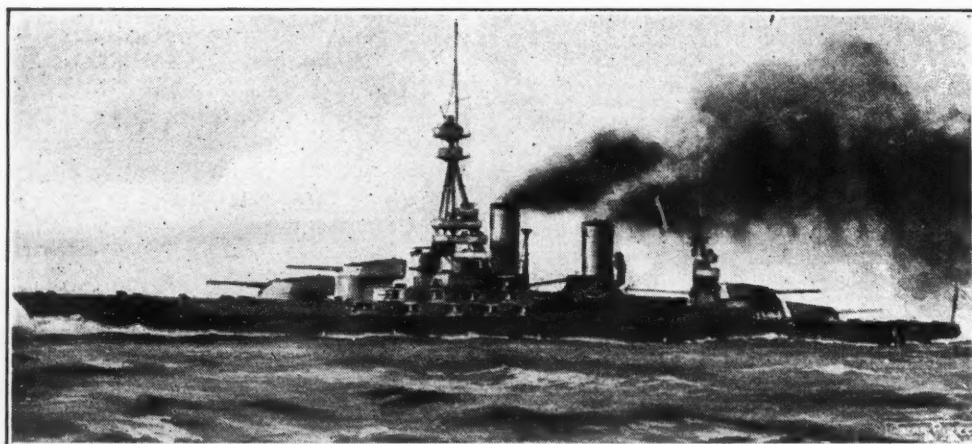
Another naval station is located at Olongapo, a few hundred miles north of Manila. This place has all the qualities of an excellent naval base. But, though its natural features are the best possible, it cannot be properly defended from land or sea. Because of this disadvantage, our premier Asiatic base was removed from here to Manila some years ago.

Next in importance comes Agra, Guam. This is a coral-bound harbor, with but a poor fleet anchorage. There are no defenses except for two old, comic opera, Spanish masonry forts armed with some old British 6-inch guns, taken from the cruisers Albany and New Orleans when they were purchased from their English builders, shortly before the Spanish-American War. The only maintenance facilities at Agra are a coal pile and a near-by leper hospital.

Tutuila, Samoa, is another "location" for a naval base. Land was purchased here for a navy yard in 1900, but Congress has since refused all appropriations for development, despite the warnings of the Navy Department.

The British, on the other hand, retain one fine base at Hongkong in the restricted area. The place is well protected with heavy guns and mines, making it practically impregnable to any enemy. There are docks from 570 to 750 feet long, capable of accommodating the largest ships. However, this base could not maintain a force of great enough size to cope with any powerful enemy fleet. Though Singapore controls the Straits of Malacca, it exercises too little effect on the eastern coast of Asia to be considered as menacing Japan's position in that sphere. Both Singapore and Hongkong, however, would seriously menace the Philippines in the event of trouble between America and England.

The Japanese, on the other hand, have an excellently fitted and fortified destroy-



The Negato is the flagship of Japan's First Fleet and also carries the commander of the first division. She is a sister ship to the Mutsu, and these ships are the world's largest and most powerful battleships. They displace about 35,000 tons, have a speed of 23 knots and carry eight 16-inch guns

er and submarine base at Bako in the Pescadores. Keelung, a fortified port in Northern Formosa, is another potential naval base, for the same docks and facilities which repair a merchant ship will repair a warship, and the same guns that defend merchant basing facilities will defend military bases. Throughout the Mandate Islands, the Loochoos, Amami-Oshima and the Kuriles, there is a strong chain of wireless, and in the Kuriles and Bonins there are protected fleet anchorages. All these effective facilities in the restricted area may be retained and maintained by Japan, in contrast to the weak ones for the United States. But the real essence of the situation is contained in the fact that Japan's unrestricted and ample "home" bases are just on the edge of the restricted territory.

It is but 1,350 miles from Yokosuka, the headquarters of the great Japanese First Fleet, to Guam, while it is 3,330 miles from our nearest base, Pearl Harbor, to the same place. Then, again, it is but about 800 miles from Bako, in the Pescadores, to Manila, while this city is 4,800 miles from our base at Pearl Harbor, and 7,500 miles from San Francisco! Also, between Pearl Harbor and San Francisco, and Guam and Manila, lie the Japanese

outposts in the Mandate Islands—Jaluit, Ponape, Truk, the Bonins and other islands—from which a fleet might block the progress of any relief to our possessions. As had been said, the Philippines, Guam, Samoa and other Pacific possessions of the United States are absolutely at Japan's mercy in time of war. Should the Japanese wish to take these places at any time, we would be unable to object, except verbally. It is impossible to send a fleet to sea to fight without providing it with advance basing facilities at which to repair and refuel. Voyages work damage to ships as well as battles.

Regarding the equity forced upon the United States by Article 19 of the naval treaty, Vice Admiral Harry S. Knapp took issue with Mr. Elihu Root at the annual meeting of the American Society of International Law at Washington. When Mr. Root attempted to extol the treaty, he was brought sharply to earth by the Admiral, who ended his speech with: "There is no trace of equity for the United States in Article 19; we are the losers in respect to position and resources. The naval treaty marks the decreased influence of the United States in the Far East, and greatly impairs her international prestige."

#### THE JAPANESE NAVY

The purpose of this writing, however, is not to discuss the justice or injustice of the naval treaty, but to show Japan's new position in the Orient and to explain the disposition and composition of the forces with



which she is to maintain it. To this end it will be useful to explain by facts never before presented the tactical organization of the Japanese Navy.

Like all other nations, Japan's greatest naval power is concentrated in a single force, which is called the First Fleet. This fleet has its headquarters at the naval dockyard at Yokosuka, on the Island of Honshu, near Tokio. It is commanded by Admiral Tochinai, flying his flag on the great battleship Negato. This vessel displaces 35,000 tons, as we measure normal displacement, has a speed of 23 knots and carries a main battery of eight 16-inch guns. She is a sister-ship of the famous Mutsu, and these two vessels are the world's most powerful battleships.

Admiral Tochinai commands the first division of his fleet, besides directing the whole. The Negato and Mutsu and the battleship Ise are its units. The Ise is larger than any ship in our navy, as she displaces 32,750 tons, according to our measure of normal displacement, has a speed of 23 knots, and carries a main battery of twelve 14-inch guns, as do our latest ships of the California class.

The second division of this fleet is composed of three battle cruisers of the Kongo type of 28,500 tons displacement, possessing 27.5 knots speed and carrying a main battery of eight 14-inch guns. The ships are the Kongo, Kirishima and Hi-yei, from which Vice Admiral Nakano commands the division.

Four new cruisers make up the third division, which is commanded by Vice Admiral Hyakutake, flying his flag on the Tama. The other ships are the Kuma, Kiso and O-hi. They are all of a similar design, having a normal displacement of 5,600 tons, a speed of 33 knots and a battery of seven 5.5-inch guns. At present there is not a single cruiser in our navy comparable to these vessels. The best we have at present are the three Chesters of 2,750 tons, 24 knots, carrying four 5-inch guns. While we have ten fine ships under construction, Japan has nine other vessels complete, and fifteen additional vessels in the various stages of construction or projected.

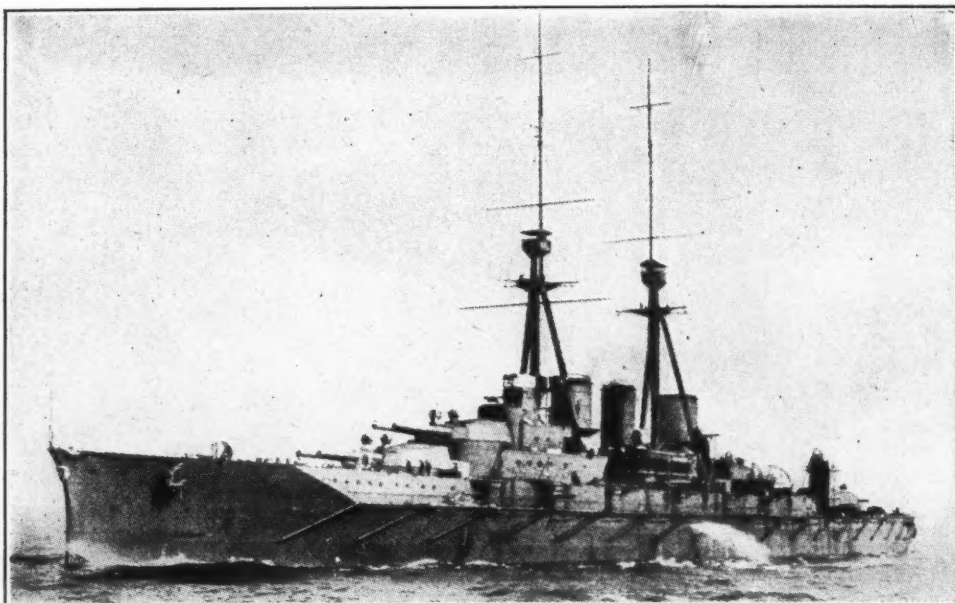
A division of destroyers under the command of Rear Admiral Otaru is attached to this fleet. The flagship or fleet flotilla

leader is the cruiser Tenryu of 3,500 tons, 33 knots and carrying four 5.5-inch guns. The division is divided into four flotillas of four boats each. The destroyers comprising this division are of the 850-ton, 32-knot type. The flotillas attached are the Fifteenth—Hagi, Fugi, Susuki and Tsuta; the Sixteenth, Kaya, Nashi, Take and Momi; the Twenty-sixth, Kuri, Nire, Kaki and Tsuga, and the Twenty-seventh, Ashi, Warabi, Sumire and Hishi. The inclusion of the names of these ships is for the purpose of showing just how far the Japanese have proceeded with the destroyer programs of the "eight-eight" plan. The Sumire and Hishi were not yet assigned to the Twenty-seventh Flotilla when the information was received, nor is it certain that they have been. However, it was known that two new boats were to be assigned to round out the division. The Sumire and Hishi have been completed, and hence the assignment has been assumed as the most probable.

#### JAPAN'S SUBMARINE STRENGTH

Three flotillas of large submarines are assigned to the First Fleet. These submarines are larger than any of the vessels in our navy at present, except the three rather unsuccessful fleet type boats. They are commanded by Rear Admiral Imaizumi, flying his flag on board the cruiser Yahagi of 5,000 tons, 26 knots, eight 6-inch guns. The flotillas assigned are the Fourth, consisting of the submarines 28, 29 and 30; the Fifth, consisting of the submarines 38, 39, 40, and the Sixteenth, consisting of the submarines 34, 35 and 36. The last report available on the new Japanese submarines does not list many of these vessels as complete. But their actual appearance with the First Fleet refutes the report.

In so far as fleet supply forces are concerned, the existence of any such train is to be doubted. The Japanese Navy, however, possesses a number of oil tankers which ply between the various naval bases and the Dutch East Indies—the Djamba Oil Fields—with unflinching regularity. Great steel tanks have been erected at all the bases for the storage of oil. Oil is a tactical necessity today. The capital ships of the Japanese Navy are fitted to burn both coal and oil, and to a certain extent



Japanese battle cruiser Kongo, a unit of the second division of the First Fleet. She is faster than anything in our service at present, except destroyers. Her main battery consists of eight 14-inch guns. In power she rates second only to the British battle cruiser Hood

the cruisers are fitted in the same way. But some of the cruisers, all the destroyers and the submarines use oil exclusively. There is not much oil in Japan, and hence it is necessary to get it elsewhere, transport it, and store it for the use of the fleet.

During manoeuvres a squadron of the Naval Flying Corps is attached to the fleet, but at present there are not more than a few planes attached to the individual capital ships, as in our own service. However, the aircraft depot ship Wakamiya is under the command of the commander-in-chief, and the aircraft carrier Hosho should be completed shortly. It is then expected that a full squadron will be attached.

At present four capital ships are reported as reconditioning or on temporary duty. The battleship Hiuga is with the Third Fleet, and the Fuso and Yamashiro are supposed to be refitting. When this has been accomplished, it is probable that another division of capital ships will be added to the First Fleet, under the com-

mand of Vice Admiral Yamaya with his flag on the Yamashiro. These ships are 32,000-ton battleships, having speeds of 22 knots or better, and carrying twelve 14-inch guns. The battle cruiser Haruna is also reported as refitting. When the work has been completed it is probable that she will join her sister ships in the second division under Admiral Nakano or, as it has been rumored, become the flagship for the entire fleet.

The formation of a second fast cruiser division is also probable, as four new vessels have just been completed. They are the Niagara, completed Jan. 18, 1922, the Isudzu, completed in May, 1922, the Natori, completed in June, 1922, and the Kitagami, completed some time ago. The flagship will probably be the Kitagami and Vice Admiral Mototake, the commander. All these ships are of the 5,600-ton class.

The old second fleet, which had its headquarters at Kure and was under the command of Vice Admiral Suzuki, has been abolished as an economy measure. Admiral Suzuki now commands the Third Fleet, which is based on Sasebo and consists of the armored cruisers Nisshin, flagship, and Kasuga, together with the temporarily attached battleship Hiuga.

In Chinese waters the fleet is com-

manded by Vice Admiral Yoshida, who is now proposed as the interallied commander on the Yangtze. His flagship is the old cruiser Tsushima. The other vessels are the old cruiser Akashi, and the gunboats Uji, Saga, Fushima and Sumida, all small vessels, especially designed for river fighting. The cadet training squadron for the coming year will be under the command of Vice Admiral N. Taniguchi, with the armored cruiser Idzumo as a flagship. The armored cruisers Iwate and Asama complete the squadron. It will cruise around the world, making Honolulu, Hawaii; San Pedro, Cal.; Panama; Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, and returning to Japan probably by way of the Mediterranean and the Suez. The training ship for conscripts will probably be the old coast-defense ship Hashidate. Last year the training ship for seamen and stokers was the Fugi, and for gunnery and torpedoes the Ikoma. As both these ships must be scrapped under the terms of the naval treaty, new ships will be assigned to take their places, but it is impossible to say at present just what those ships will be.

All the modern vessels, the ships of the First Fleet and the first-class destroyers, of 1,350 tons, 34 knots, are maintained in full commission, in great contrast to our own approximate forces, which have only 70 per cent. of their full complements, due to the lack of men. The older vessels are maintained in a very high state of efficiency with half their complements, and a reserve is ready to fill them up in the event of war. Because of the lack of men in our service, we have been unable to man any of the older ships, or any large number of the more modern ones, and so it is that some of the finest American destroyers are rapidly deteriorating.

#### SHIPS TO BE SCRAPPED

Of the ships to be scrapped, it is entirely possible that the Suwo, a captured Russian battleship, will be disarmed but retained as a depot ship for submarines. The battleship Mikasa, Admiral Togo's flagship at the Battle of the Sea of Japan, may be retained as a memorial to the naval actions of the Russo-Japanese War.

Of the six Japanese ships building, which are to be scrapped, work on at least five was stopped as early as February; the

other two, building in naval dockyards, may be proceeding slowly, awaiting the ratification of the treaties by the Diet. This cannot be construed as a violation of any of the treaties. None of them exists for Japan until the Diet has ratified.\* In some quarters it has been said that our politicians were too eager to have the scrapping proposals passed, with their appearance of great monetary savings, inasmuch as, with the single exception of China, no other nation has made any attempt to ratify the agreements. Italy and England are watching the moves of France. France and Japan are none too eager to lose line-of-battle power, and so their efforts for the passage of the agreements are not rapid.

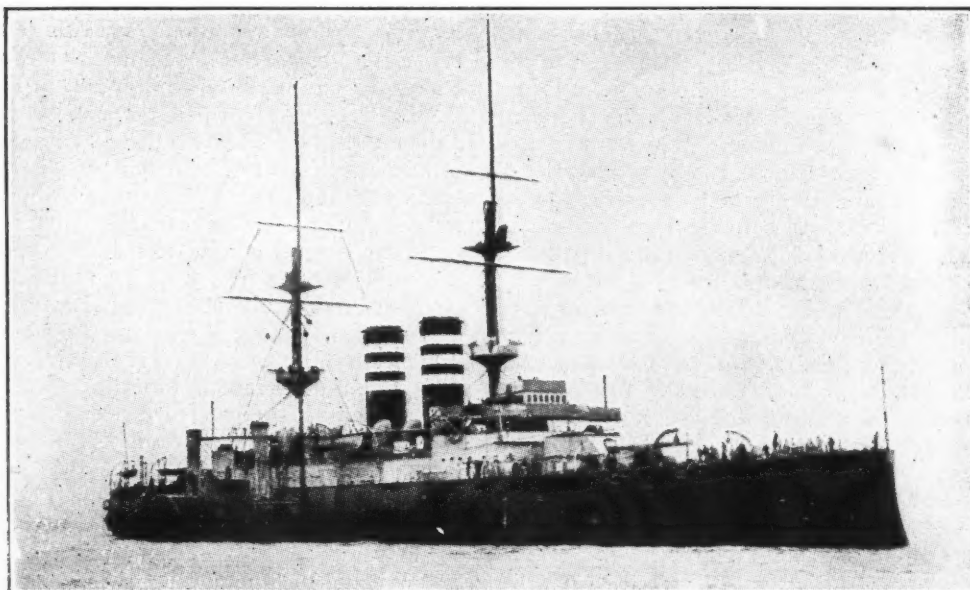
Construction of cruisers, on the other hand, has been accelerated. Three such vessels have been completed since the first of the year, others have been launched, and a few actually laid down. It is apparent that Japan intends to maintain her maximum treaty strength at all events, and she cannot be reproved for desiring to hold the fruits of her excellent diplomacy intact.

At present there are fifty-three modern fast cruisers, built and building, in the British Navy, while in the Japanese there are but twenty-eight. True, the treaty does not specify how many vessels of this type may be built, and some of its critics declare in consequence that naval competition will continue as before, only not in capital ships, but in cruisers and torpedo craft. The treaty, however, very clearly states a naval construction and maintenance policy for the nations, to insure equity in power on the seas. This policy is stated in the ratio terms of 5-5-3. If England has fifty-three cruisers, then Japan should be entitled to 60 per cent. of this number, or thirty, but no more, if the treaty is to be adhered to in spirit as well as in fact.

The United States, then, must build cruisers, for she has no vessels of modern types except the ten vessels now under construction. To maintain her parity with England and her numerical superiority of 40 per cent. over Japan, the United States should construct no less than forty vessels of this type. Certainly, it would seem that

\*Japan ratified the Washington treaty after this was in type. See article that follows this one.—EDITOR.





Because this battleship, the Mikasa, was Admiral Togo's flagship in the Battle of the Sea of Japan, the Japanese wish to retain her as a memorial to the Russo-Japanese War, even though she is condemned to the scrap heap by the naval treaty. They may possibly be allowed to retain her in place of the Shikishima or Asahi. However, she is an old vessel of doubtful value. She displaces 15,000 tons, has a speed of 18 knots and carries four 12-inch and smaller guns

the Pacific situation justifies such action. However, Congress does not see fit to supply the navy with even enough men to commission fully all the ships we have.

So many misleading reports have been published in regard to the new Japanese cruisers that it is well to enumerate them here, the information coming from a source which cannot be doubted. Of the 5,700-ton class, the Abukuma was laid down during the period of the Arms Conference, on Dec. 8, 1921, by the Uraga Dock Company. The cruiser Yura, building at the Sasebo naval dockyard, was launched on Feb. 15. The Kinu, built at Kobe by the Kawasaki Company, is also reported to have been launched since the first of the year. Two small cruisers, one named Yubari or Yuhari (the translation is not certain), and the other Ayase, are building at the Sasebo naval dockyard. The Minase, another small cruiser, is building at the Uraga yard, and the Oto-

nase, another vessel of the same class, is building at the Mitsubishi yard, where a new type of large cruiser, displacing more than 7,000 tons, was laid down only a few days after the signing of the treaties, on Feb. 16. She has been named Sendai. During the month of July a second ship of this class, named the Kako, will be laid down at the Sasebo yard, and a third ship, the Naka, will be laid down in October at the Uraga yard. The fourth ship, the Jintsuu, will be laid down in January, 1923; the contract is understood to have been awarded to the Kawasaki Company of Kobe. From four to eight further vessels are projected.

From this survey, it is only too evident that the Japanese fleet is being rounded out rapidly to its largest extent, new cruisers taking the place of the old ships to be scrapped.

#### JAPAN'S FLEET VS. AMERICA'S

Comparisons are obviously necessary to bring out the power of the Japanese fleet, and hence Japan's position in the Far East. Our present Pacific fleet consists of ten battleships, displacing from 27,500 tons to 32,300 tons, all having speeds of 21 knots and carrying 14-inch guns. The Japanese fleet consists of ten capital ships, of which six are battleships and four battle



cruisers. In these four battle cruisers, which are second in power only to the great Hood, Japan possesses a tactical and strategical advantage over us—the advantage of speed. The Japanese vessels range from 28,500 tons to 35,000 tons, giving them the advantage of size. The battle-ships have speeds of from 22 to 24 knots, giving added speed advantage. Eight of the Japanese ships carry 14-inch guns, four carry eight and four carry twelve, while the great Negato and Mutsu carry eight 16-inch guns each. Thus Japan is superior in battery power and in all of the essentials which make for victory—size, speed, gun power and man power.

In the event of war, therefore, the Japanese fleet would be able to advance 1,400 miles to Guam, or 800 miles to the Philippines, without fear of our inferior Pacific fleet, which would have to sail 3,330 miles to Guam or 4,800 miles to Cavite, if it were so fortunate as to be fully based on Pearl Harbor when war was declared, instead of strung out all over the Pacific Coast and being maintained at various naval stations, as is usually the case. If any such manoeuvre were begun, the fleet would have to meet a superior enemy when thousands of miles from fuel and repairs, with the fuel in the tanks running very low. On the other hand, the Japanese fleet would be only a few hundred miles from full basing facilities.

If our fleet happened to be assembled at San Francisco, it would have to sail 6,000 miles to Guam or 7,500 miles to Manila to meet a superior fleet. And in the voyage the fleet would have to pass within but a few hundred miles of the Japanese coast. The conditions in respect to fuel and bases would be the same as outlined above, except that the fleet's fuel would be quite exhausted by such a voyage. It would mean annihilation to meet any enemy of Japan's power in such a condition.

The only moves possible in the event of war are, first, the mobilization of the Pacific fleet at one of the west coast bases, and the reconditioning of each ship; second, a wait to enable a complete reinforcement by all the capital ships of the Atlantic fleet to make its way from the east coast. This would add a 16-inch-gun

ship, the Maryland, a 14-inch-gun ship, the Nevada, and six 12-inch gun ships to the Pacific forces; third, another wait would be necessary while the ships of the Atlantic forces were made ready for a further long voyage. Then the combined forces would advance to Pearl Harbor.

But during all this time the Japanese fleet would have been assembled and augmented by ships of various and special classes from near-by naval stations. The reserves would fill up the older ships. The army would be mobilized, and transports drawn from Japan's merchant fleets. Then an operation would be undertaken against either Guam or the Philippines. If the object of this operation should be Manila, the troops would be taken along and a fleet train arranged to supply them. A landing would not be attempted through the entrance to Manila Bay, as accomplished by Dewey in 1898; the troops would be put ashore further up the coast and the city taken by land. (We maintain only a small force of troops in the Philippines.)

Guam could easily be taken from the sea. The situation is analogous. How could old types of 6-inch guns and the rifles of the Marine Guard oppose the 16-inch guns of the Negato and Mutsu, let alone the combined power of the entire First Fleet? The other islands would fall speedily, and when the American fleet arrived at Pearl Harbor nothing could be done. No attempt could reasonably be made against already captured territory in the face of the powerful Japanese fleet ready to impede such a move.

At Pearl Harbor our fleet would have to wait until new capital ships could be built. Strength enough would have to be acquired to crush through the enemy by sheer force of numbers. And the outcome of any such manoeuvre, no matter how powerful were our force, would be open to serious question. The Japanese Government would certainly make the captured territory impregnable with fortifications and troops, even though our Congress has refused the funds to do just this ever since 1900, and is now refusing the necessary funds to make even our Pacific Coast bases thoroughly capable of handling such a situation.

Japan has absolutely a free hand in the Pacific and Asia today. We have given it to her in the Arms Conference treaties. I state these things not as arguments for or against the treaties. It would be useless to do so, for they have been ratified by our Senate, and nothing more is to be said. But of our own choosing, perhaps blundering, we must keep our hands off

Asia in the future, if we are to have peace and retain our possessions.

It is exactly as Admiral Baron Kato is telling Japan at the present moment: Japan cannot afford to delay the ratification of the treaties. She has too much at stake for petty quarrels among politicians to rob her of the fruits of her very excellent diplomatic victory.

## JAPAN TO EVACUATE SIBERIA

[PERIOD ENDED JULY 10, 1922]

**A**DAMIRAL BARON KATO accepted the Premiership of the Japanese Government on June 11. He came into power committed to a policy of economy, reduction of the army and the fulfilment of the pledges made by Japan at the Washington Conference. He succeeded in his plan of forming a non-party Cabinet, the personnel of which, as announced on June 12, was as follows:

TOMOSABURO KATO, Premier and Minister of the Navy.

VISCOUNT YASUYA UCHIDA, Foreign Affairs.

RENTARO MIZUNO, Home Affairs.

OTCHIKO ICHIKI, Finance.

HANZO YAMANASHI, Army.

EIKICHI KAMADA, Education.

KEIJIRO OKANO, Justice.

RENTARO ARAI, Agriculture and Commerce.

VISCOUNT TOSHISADA MAEDA, Communications.

ENKICHI OKI, Railways.

Admiral Kato himself, Viscount Uchida, General Yamanashi and Count Ohki were all members of the Cabinet of ex-Premier Takahashi, which resigned on June 6. The accession to power of Admiral Kato was generally regarded as a triumph for the policy of disarmament, the ratification of the Washington treaties and a new era of peace and conciliation in respect, not only to China, but to the whole civilized world. That this view was well grounded was swiftly demonstrated by the trend of events following the inauguration of the new Cabinet. A series of governmental decisions of the most momentous nature was announced between June 21 and July 4; all the still unratified Washington treaties were approved by the Privy Council, including the Yap Treaty; Japan began negotiations with China to fulfill the separate treaty regarding Shantung; plans for a drastic reduction of the army were announced; the tentative naval plans were made public; and last—and most noteworthy of all—the evacuation of Siberia was decided upon and the date for withdrawal actually fixed for this coming Autumn. The chronology of these events is as follows:

June 21—The Japanese-American treaty regarding Yap finally ratified.

June 23—The Japanese Cabinet decided that Japan would withdraw her military forces from the Maritime Province in Siberia.

June 24—The Imperial Advisory Council fixed Oct. 30 as the final date for the completion of this evacuation.

June 26—The United States was notified of this decision.

June 29—Fort 1 negotiations were begun at Peking to fulfill the provisions of the Shantung Treaty.

July 1—The Japanese Privy Council approved the last outstanding treaties negotiated at Washington. Final ratification by the Crown Prince as Acting Regent was expected shortly.

July 3—The Japanese Admiralty announced that Port Arthur, taken from the Russians in the Russo-Japanese War, would be abandoned as a naval base. The Admiralty officially denied all reports that Japan was increasing construction of auxiliary vessel and published the tentative auxiliary program, viz: four cruisers of 10,000 tons each, four of 7,000, twenty-four first-class destroyers of a total tonnage of 33,000 and twenty-four submarines of a total tonnage of 28,166. Total reduction over old program, 13,935 tons; reduction in ships, one cruiser, thirteen destroyers and twenty-four submarines.

July 4—Plans to reduce the Japanese Army by 56,000 men approved by the Cabinet, representing a cut of more than 20 per cent., and an estimated saving of 250,000,000 yen in twelve years, and 23,000,000 yen annually thereafter.

The enumeration of decisions given is imposing, and the aggregate impression made on world opinion was very favorable. Good auguries for future peaceful and friendly relations between Japan and the United States were exchanged on the occasion of the visit to Japan of Mr. Denby, American Secretary of the Navy, and members of the Annapolis class of 1891 early in July. The party was received by the Regent in Tokio on July 5.

Imprisonment for an indefinite period was the sentence passed on Ryichi Nakaoka, the assassin of Premier Hara, on June 12. The death sentence was not given on the ground that the assassin was not in his right mind.

# THE EVOLUTION OF THE LABOR MOVEMENT

By EVERETT P. WHEELER

Former President of the New York Civil Service  
Reform Association

*A review of the progress of labor in the United States from 1890 to 1922—Federal and State legislation affecting the workman's welfare—Friendly arbitration as an offset to "the right to strike"*

THE evolution of the labor movement during the last thirty years has been conditioned by many causes, one of the chief of which is ethical. Before this period, throughout the civilized world, there had been a quickening of the Christian spirit of consideration for the needs and sufferings of others. Macaulay, in the famous third chapter of his History of England, describes in graphic language the great change in public sentiment in England from the hardness and cruelty prevalent at the end of the seventeenth century to the humanity of the Victorian era.

Contemporaneously with this quickening of religious and philanthropic sentiment, there came a change in the economic world and in the conception of economic principles. Before the invention of the steam engine, of the dynamo and of the myriad types of machinery which these inventions made possible, the business of manufacturing was conducted on a small scale. One mechanic did almost as many kinds of work as a farmer does. It was quite possible, as Abram S. Hewitt said in his lifetime (referring to a period as recent as 1860) for a manufacturer to know, personally, every person in his employ. All this made the labor of each workman more interesting, and introduced more friendly relations between employer and employed. Years passed; inventions multiplied. The cost of living and the cost of production were reduced. On the other hand, the standard of living rose not only for the rich, but for the plain people. Their houses became more comfortable, their clothing more varied. The comfort of living of the average man and woman greatly increased during the last century.

While this increase proceeded, the ex-

perience of manufacturers showed that there were many advantages in combination, and that manufacturing on a large scale could be done more advantageously. One disadvantage of the change was the separation between the heads of the great companies and their employees.

Attempts have been made by legislation to prevent the extension of these great combinations. Monopolies were illegal by the common law of England, which became the common law of this country. In 1890 this law was made more comprehensive and was put into the form of a statute by the act of Congress known as the Sherman act. Penalties were provided for its enforcement.

Meanwhile, however, the same spirit of combination developed among the workmen. Their trade unions became more numerous and powerful, both in England and America. In the beginning the endeavor of each of these unions was to increase wages and diminish the hours of labor in its own particular sphere. But the separate unions also discovered the advantage of combination, and some of them became national.

The spirit which has thus developed in the various activities of employers and employed has naturally found expression in statutes. The labor legislation which has been enacted by the Congress of the United States and the Legislatures of the forty-eight States is too varied and extensive to be stated in full within the compass of this article. I can give only a few characteristic examples. In this brief summary, let it be remembered that "when a statute has been settled by judicial construction, the construction becomes as much a part of the statute as the text itself." (Douglass vs. County of Pine,

101 U. S. 667). That is the American constitutional system.

#### FEDERAL LABOR LEGISLATION

I will deal first with Federal legislation affecting the responsibility of railroad operators for injuries sustained by their employes in the performance of duty. The act of March 2, 1893 (27 Stat. 531), contains an elaborate scheme of regulations for safety appliances upon railroads. Driving wheel brakes, train brakes, automatic couplers, grab irons and draw bars are all prescribed. Section 8 of the code provides that employes shall not be deemed to have assumed the risk of injury by "continuance in the employment of such carrier after the unlawful use of such locomotive, car or train had been brought to his knowledge" (27 Stat. 532). This act was extended March 2, 1903 (32 Stat. 943), to apply to all railroads in the Territories and in the District of Columbia.

Safety ash pans were required by the act of May 30, 1908. Other safety appliances were required by the act of April 14, 1910 (36 Stat. 298), and by that of Feb. 17, 1911 (36 Stat. 1913).

The courts hold that these requirements must be strictly complied with, and that if injury is caused by the absence of the required device the company cannot avoid responsibility by claiming that it provided a substantial equivalent. (*Hodgman vs. Railroad*, 107 Atl. Rep. 30, Maine, 1919).

The courts also hold that these Federal statutes are applicable to locomotives and cars generally engaged in interstate commerce, even though, at the time of the injury, the injured person was engaged in intrastate work. (*Ross vs. Schooly*, C. C. A., 257 Fed. Rep. 290).

The right of action for injuries caused by negligence was extended by the act of April 22, 1908, to injuries causing the death of an employe (35 Stat. 65). The same act provided that the employe "shall not be held to have assumed the risks of his employment in any case of the violation by such common carrier of any statute enacted for the safety of such employe." Any attempt by the carrier to exempt itself from liability incurred by the act is declared void.

The act of Feb. 17, 1911, provides a system of inspection of railroads and their equipment. The Interstate Commerce Commission is authorized to investigate all accidents resulting "in serious injury to persons or to the property of a railroad occurring on the line of any common carrier engaged in interstate or foreign commerce by railroad" (36 Stat. 914).

The hours of labor of employes of common carriers were limited by the act of March 4, 1907 (34 Stat. 1416). The longest period of continuous strain for some was to be sixteen hours, for others nine hours.

The four railroad brotherhoods of engineers, of firemen, of conductors and of trainmen in 1916 decided on a different method. They did not ask that the hours of labor should be limited, but that eight hours should constitute a day's work and be paid for as such. To enforce this demand, they ordered a strike which would have tied up all railway systems in the United States. By this threat they succeeded, Sept. 3, 1916, in obtaining the passage of an act of Congress (39 Stat. 721) to the effect "that eight hours shall, in contracts for labor and service, be deemed a day's work" for all persons in the service of railroads.

There are undoubtedly certain kinds of railroad employment in which eight hours of active service would be excessive. The engineer of an express train running at the rate of fifty or sixty miles an hour ought not to be on duty even for eight consecutive hours; in fact, he never is. The engineers established rules by which a certain distance run by the engineer of an express train should be considered as the equivalent of eight hours.

On the other hand, there are many kinds of railroad employment, such as service in stations, or in the handling of freight trains, when there are many waits and sidings, where the strain is not continuous and is never severe. In these, therefore, ten hours' service would not be excessive. The act in question, however, like many American statutes, does not discriminate between the different kinds of service. Whatever discrimination there is, in fact, has been made by what is known as collective bargaining, that is to say, the union to which the man belongs makes an agree-



ment with the railroad managers which defines the character of the work and the compensation to be paid for it.

#### STATE LEGISLATION

We now turn to State legislation.

The construction of factories and other buildings used for manufacture and commerce has been regulated. In New York this is subject to many minute rules, both as to the stability of the structure and as to precautions against fire. These laws prescribe penalties for their violation. But unfortunately the statutory regulations are so often disregarded that it has been difficult (as in the case of the disastrous Triangle fire) to secure convictions upon indictments for their violation. Kipling's description of the American is hardly exaggerated:

The cynic devil in his blood,  
That makes him make the law he flouts,  
That makes him flout the law he makes.

America needs the enforcement of laws or their repeal, if obnoxious, much more than new legislation.

In many States there are requirements for providing fire escapes, and the owners of buildings who fail to provide such fire escapes are liable for damages caused thereby.

In Illinois (Laws of 1913, p. 359) the owner or proprietor of a coal mine, steel mill, foundry, machine shop or other like business is required "to provide and maintain a suitable and sanitary wash-room at a convenient place in, or adjacent to, such mine, mill, foundry or shop."

In Indiana there is a statute requiring employers, in coal mines, to furnish washing facilities. The validity of this statute was sustained by the United States Supreme Court. (Booth vs. Indiana, 237 U. S. 391.)

In Missouri the statute (Sec. 7843) requires that a scaffold "shall be well and safely supported, and so guarded as to insure the safety of all persons working thereon." At common law it was the duty of builders to furnish such a scaffold. In this case the statute makes it explicit.

Many and varied regulations have been made by Legislatures in regard to safety appliances. In Iowa, for example (Code Supp. Sec. 4999-a-2), the owners or man-

agers in manufacturing or other establishments where machinery is used, are required to see that it "shall be properly covered."

The subject of occupational diseases has attracted legislative attention. The Constitution of Ohio, as amended Sept. 2, 1912 (Art. 2), authorizes the Legislature to provide for the compensation of "workmen and their dependents, for death, injuries or occupational diseases occasioned in the course of such workmen's employment." In pursuance of this amendment, an act was passed by the Ohio Legislature, May 6, 1913, which provided: "Every employer shall, without cost to the employee, provide reasonably effective devices, means and methods to prevent the contraction by his employees of illness or disease incident to the work or process in which such employees are engaged." At the same time the Legislature of Ohio passed an act for the appointment of an Industrial Commission. (103 Ohio Laws, 95, 110.) This has extensive jurisdiction over the regulation of factories and machinery.

The duty to make suitable provision for the special needs of women has been recognized in many States. In Texas, for example, the law requires the proprietor of a restaurant to provide seats for his female employees when not engaged in active duty. In several States the question has been raised whether the Legislature has power to make such requirements. The courts have held that the police power of the Legislature is sufficiently extensive to enable the Legislature to pass laws to safeguard the health of women employees. (Ruling Case Law, Vol. 16, p. 480, Muller vs. Oregon, 208 U. S., 412.) Under this rule it is well settled that the Legislature has power to require hours of labor for women different from those required of men.

Besides the general requirements as to hours of labor, the laws of many States contain regulations in regard to the employment of women during a certain period before and after the birth of children. The regulations vary, but the principle of all is the same—to prevent the imposition upon women of burdensome tasks during the period of child-bearing.

## WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION

Another respect in which legislation has changed the common law of England and America is that of workmen's compensation. At common law, an employer was not liable for any injury to which the negligence of the employe had contributed. Neither was the employer responsible for injuries occurring from a risk which was obvious. It was deemed that the workman assumed this risk. It was also held that the employer was not liable to one workman for injuries caused by the negligence of a fellow-workman.

To correct these evils laws have been passed by the United States and by many of the States of the Union which are based upon the theory that the injury to workmen in the course of their employment, not caused by their willful misconduct, is a risk incident to the business, and ought to be borne by the business, irrespective of any question of fault of the employe. Compensation shall be made in proportion to the wages which have been paid to the injured party.

Under the United States law of Sept. 7, 1916 (39 Stat. 742), a commission is appointed to determine the questions arising under the act. If the disability is total, the United States shall pay to the disabled employe during such disability a monthly compensation equal to "two-thirds of his monthly pay." In case of partial disability, the monthly compensation for the total disability shall not be more than \$66.67 nor less than \$33.33. Compensation is also to be made if death results from the injury within six years. In such case, burial expenses may be paid, not to exceed \$100. Compensation may be made in a lump sum "if the commission determines that it is for the best interests of the beneficiary." The beneficiary may be required to assign to the United States a cause of the action in his favor against some other person for damages arising out of the injury. Legislation in the States varies in detail, but in its main features is similar to that of the United States.

## WAGE CONTROVERSIES

Various methods have been adopted for the peaceful settlement of controversies between employer and employed. Many

attempts have been made by voluntary action to provide friendly methods of settling such differences. One of the most successful is the agreement between the Glass Bottle Blowers' Association of the United States and Canada and the union of the men engaged in that industry. This agreement in its main features has been in force for about twenty years. A friendly relation between the employer and the employe has prevailed, and there has been no strike. The Vice President of the union, James Maloney, has just expressed the principle underlying this agreement in a happy phrase—"The rights of one citizen end where those of another begin."

Under the agreement the workers at their annual convention select ten representatives to serve on an Arbitration Board. A similar number of representatives is appointed by the Chairman of the manufacturers' association. Each district also has its own committee, appointed by the men, to deal with the management. This local shop committee takes up alleged grievances with the management. If they fail to agree, the international President of the union is called in. If he cannot effect an agreement, the matter is referred to the Arbitration Board. The authority of the walking delegate of the union under this agreement is greatly restricted. He cannot call men out; he is not the sole arbitrator between the men and the management. The committee of the workmen themselves is heard in regard to the matters in difference. The result of this frank and friendly conference is that loose talk is eliminated. To use the words of John A. Voll, the President of the association: "We have had harmony in our industry because we have established a relationship that engenders both confidence and respect and compels conservative deliberation."

One important factor in the relation thus created is the publication of the minutes of the meetings of the arbitrators' conference and their distribution among the members of the union. They are thus informed of the actual facts, and are not deceived by any representations that the employer is profiteering. The result has just been stated in the Outlook by that careful and impartial observer, Sherman Rogers: "There is no body of workmen

in America where the efficiency is greater than in the glass bottle industry. Men work because they know why they must work; they know the amount of work they must do to give themselves a decent wage."

#### COLORADO INDUSTRIAL PLAN

Another voluntary agreement is called "the Colorado Industrial Plan." A strike by the miners of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company in 1915 caused great suffering to the miners and their families, interrupted the work of mining for a long period, and attracted the attention of the public throughout the country. John D. Rockefeller and his son were known to be large stockholders in the company. This fact occasioned many violent attacks. John D. Rockefeller Jr. went himself to the mines, examined the works and all the conditions of the miners' lives, slept in their houses and, the newspapers said, wore the men's nightshirts. This latter Mr. Rockefeller disclaims. He was able to say that for fourteen years, since the incorporation, no dividend had been paid on the common stock and only one on the preferred stock. He called the miners together and negotiated with them and their representatives two agreements; one respecting employment, living and working conditions, and the other a plan for representation of employees. The first provided: "Eight hours shall constitute a day's work for all employees working under ground and on coke ovens. \* \* \* Nine hours shall constitute a day's work for all other outside labor, except firemen and engineers." It was agreed that this schedule of wages should continue without reduction until Jan. 1, 1918, and that if before that date a general increase should be granted in competitive district "a proportionate increase should be made."

The other agreement provided for the election of representatives of the employees on the basis of one representative to every 150 wage earners. The choice was to be by secret ballot. At the meeting for election "employees may consider and make recommendations concerning any questions pertaining to their employment, working or living conditions, or arising out of existing industrial relations." At intervals during the year a conference was to be had between operating officers of the

company and the representatives of the employees in each district.

Committees on industrial co-operation and conciliation, on safety and accidents, on sanitation, living and housing, and on recreation and education were to be appointed. It was the business of these committees to meet from time to time and to discuss the subjects assigned to each committee. An industrial representative was to be appointed by the President of the company, whose business it was to confer from time to time with the employees and their superintendents. All alleged grievances were first to be brought to the attention of the mine superintendent. If the miners' committee and he should fail to agree, it became the duty of the President's representative to look into and seek to adjust the dispute. If no agreement with him was reached, the employees could appeal to the higher officers of the company, and should that fail, an appeal could be made to the President of the company, and ultimately to the Colorado Industrial Commission. The expense of all these proceedings was to be borne by the company. The agreement reads in part as follows: "The promotion of harmony and good-will between the company and its employees, and the furtherance of the well-being of employees and their families and the communities in which they reside being essential to the successful operation of the company's industries in an enlightened and profitable manner \* \* \*"

Finally, as in the Glass Blowers' Association, a periodical was to be published and distributed, giving information in regard to social and industrial activities and other matters of mutual interest.

The plan worked well. It carried out the policy expressed by Mr. Rockefeller Jr. in an address at the conference of the United States Chamber of Commerce, December, 1918: "Is it not true that any industry, to be permanently successful, must insure to labor adequately remunerative employment under proper working and living conditions, to capital a fair return upon the money invested, and to the community a useful service? It is frequently maintained that the parties to industry must necessarily be hostile and antagonistic. I am convinced that the opposite is true; that they are not enemies



but partners, and that they have a common interest. Moreover, success cannot be brought about through the assumption by any one party of a position of dominance and arbitrary control; rather it is dependent upon the co-operation of all four. Partnership, not enmity, is the watchword."

A plan quite similar to these has been adopted for the management of the Dutchess County Bleachery at Wappingers Falls, N. Y., after full discussion between Harold A. Hatch, the President of the company, and the employees themselves, through their chosen committees. This plan includes one feature which does not exist in the other two. Under the Dutchess County plan, a system of profit sharing has been introduced. The company periodically makes up its accounts and divides a percentage of the profits among the workmen in proportion to their wages.

All these plans grant to the employees a large share in the consideration of matters relating to the business in which they are engaged. To use the language of an English report: "Problems of industry will find their solution in a frank partnership of knowledge, expression and good-will."

#### OTHER ARBITRATION PLANS

Mr. Leitch in his book, "Man to Man," has described other plans for the organization of industry which are, in their main features, similar to those just outlined.

The protocol in the clothing industry in New York City, for which we were mainly indebted to Judge Brandeis and Julius Henry Cohen, was agreed upon in September, 1910, after a bitter struggle which involved 60,000 people. It adopted successfully a method of organization similar in many respects to those already detailed, and has been continued, with some changes, to the present time. Intelligent and public-spirited employers in this country for thirty years have been endeavoring in good faith to provide plans for administration which would increase the interest of the men in their work, protect them from unjust treatment, and produce harmonious relations between employer and employed. Undoubtedly there are other employers, greedy and selfish,

whose chief desire is to get all they can for themselves. This fact makes the establishment of an impartial tribunal all the more important.

An instance of the success of a method of friendly co-operation in municipal government may be cited. In 1896, when Colonel Waring was head of the Street Cleaning Department in New York, under Mayor Strong's Administration, he provided a tribunal of arbitration in his department. A general committee was composed of ten members; five selected by the men and five by the Commissioner. All complaints were referred to them. This plan, at first received with suspicion, worked well, and after eight months' trial there were emphatic expressions by the men of satisfaction with the plan of arbitration.

The Canadian act of 1907, amended in 1910, provides for industrial tribunals. In 1916 President Eliot styled the act "the best piece of legislation ever adopted to promote industrial peace." To use the language of Mr. King, former Canadian Minister of Labor: "The act provides that where a strike or lockout is threatened in any one of these industries (railroads, steamships, telegraph and telephone lines, and mines), before such lockout or strike can legally take place the parties must refer their differences to a board of arbitration for settlement."

Each party to the dispute appoints a member of the Board of Arbitration. If these two can agree upon a Chairman, they appoint him. If not, he is appointed by the Minister of Labor.

During the first nine years the Canadian act was in force there were 212 applications for a board of conciliation and investigation, and in 182 of these cases applications were granted. The others were settled out of court. In the 182 cases there were only two where a strike was not averted nor ended.

On the other hand, in the United States, where no such law was in force, 321 strikes were reported during October, 1916, alone. The Labor Review for June, 1919, says that during 1918 there were 3,181 strikes in the United States and 104 lockouts. In New York alone there were 622 strikes and 21 lockouts. From January to March, 1921, there were in all 587 strikes and 8 lockouts. The con-



trast is certainly in favor of the Canadian system.

Another grievance that is frequently referred to in the discussion of this subject is the constant fear of arbitrary discharge. It is often suspected that men who are active in the management and direction of unions are "spotted," as the phrase is, and that sooner or later some pretext is found for their discharge. To guard against this it should be provided that no man should be summarily discharged. If any complaint is made by a superior, it should be referred to a committee which can hear forthwith the complaint and the explanation to be given, and approve or disapprove the penalty which the superior declares should be inflicted. Such a system has been found successful in public offices and in great private establishments. It exists in the municipal service of the City of Chicago. It existed during Mr. McAneny's administration in the office of the Borough President (of what was formerly the City of New York, and is now the Borough of Manhattan), which included 2,300 employees. It exists in the works under the general management of Edison at Orange, N. J., in the department store of Filene in Boston, employing 7,000 persons, and in other places. Its operation is satisfactory. It keeps up the tone of the service; protects the men from arbitrary action and from the fear of it, which is as serious as the action itself. In New York City, Mr. McAneny found it desirable to have this committee composed in part of employees. He had many hearings during his term of office, and informs us that in every case the decision was unanimous. We can trust the men who are in the service of the public in connection with our great public utilities corporations, and, if we do trust them, they will deal fairly with the public and with one another. If the public is to trust them, however, they in turn should be willing to trust the public. "Protection and allegiance are reciprocal." Confidence certainly must be reciprocal, or it does not exist.

Fear has been expressed that impartial and competent tribunals could not be found. Miss Josephine Goldmark puts the case well in a brief in which she and Mr. Rodenstein presented in April, 1916, on behalf of the National Consumers' League:

"If strikes are to be avoided, the State should provide a method of adjudication which can give to employes the relief now secured, if at all, by strikes, and at the cost of inconvenience or danger to society. The remedy afforded by the State must be broad enough to enable the workers to get all the rights and concessions which they could obtain by strikes." She would agree with us in inserting the word "justly" before "obtain."

The essential point is to secure a board composed, not of advocates on one side or the other, but of impartial men. It should be a real industrial court that will command confidence. Confidence will secure obedience.

#### THE RIGHT TO STRIKE

Another point made in the discussion of arbitration in industrial disputes is that a plan limiting strikes infringes the right to strike, which the Federation of Labor claims is absolute. We reply that the plans under consideration contemplate a contract freely made between the employer and the employee. Nobody is obliged to become a motorman or a conductor, or to engage in making or distributing food, clothing or fuel. When he enters the service he becomes a public employee voluntarily. This is why he is not a slave. The slave did not enter the service voluntarily. "The freeman owns himself," says Mr. Gompers. Yes, but he owes a duty to God and to the State. It is a part of his duty to keep his contract. There is no real freedom on any other terms.

A law compelling men to keep their contract does not reduce them to involuntary servitude. If irreparable injury should be caused by its violation, the court can enjoin such violation. In the case of seamen, the United States Supreme Court held that an act compelling a seaman who has deserted to return to his ship does not reduce him to involuntary servitude. This is put on the ground that he voluntarily entered the service. The court said (Robertson vs. Baldwin, 165 U. S., 281): "A service which was knowingly and willingly entered into could not be called involuntary."

It is important to notice that when workmen quit their employment they do it in obedience to "orders." These orders are peremptory. Any restraint exercised

by statute would be a restraint upon the leaders, prohibiting them from giving orders to the men to strike. These leaders are not workmen. They draw their salaries from the union treasury. It is not involuntary servitude to prevent them from interfering with the public service. It is also important to notice that the leaders give orders, not for the purpose of relieving men from their jobs, but for the purpose of coercing employers to submit to their "demands."

Mr. Gompers, the President of the American Federation of Labor, made this statement on March 12, 1920:

"One right that ought to be inalienable is the right of workers to stop work for any purpose, at any time they wish, or think they ought to stop. That right is an inherent constitutional right \* \* \* To require a worker by law to work when he does not want to work is to put the Government in the position of supporting a slaveowner."

He has just repeated this statement before the convention of the federation. He forgets that every industrial arbitration bill gives to corporations, to which it applies, and their men, full liberty to make voluntary agreements. The men retain their rights to organize and make collective bargains.

The plan proposed for preventing strikes is based upon fundamental principles of American government. Every citizen has equal civil rights. It is the duty of the Government to protect him in the reasonable exercise of these rights, and to prevent him from infringing the rights of others. The strike is a combination by members of a secret order to prevent citizens from exercising their lawful rights. The right of a citizen to travel on the public highway and to buy food, fuel and clothing is absolute. A combination to prevent him from doing this is unlawful.

*[To be concluded in the September issue.]*

## BELGIUM MENDING HER FENCES

[PERIOD ENDED JULY 10, 1922]

**B**ELGIUM has been continuing her policy of "mending her fences" against attack, and, at the same time, opening her gates to commerce with contiguous territory.

The terms of the economic convention between Belgium and the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg, which became effective last May, were given in the April number of *CURRENT HISTORY*, page 170, and in the May number, page 345. The Belgian Government has now commenced negotiations with France for an economic agreement between those two countries. Conversations have been held at Brussels between the Belgian Minister for Foreign Affairs and the French Ambassador, and a Franco-Belgian Commission has been appointed to work out the details of an agreement with a view to facilitating economic intercourse between Belgium and France.

In the matter of mending her fences against military invasion, Belgium has made considerable progress. The treaty guaranteeing the neutrality of Belgium—the "scrap of paper" which Germany tore up—is no longer in effect. It is felt, as the Belgian Prime Minister, M. Theunis, said in an address to the Chamber of Deputies, that "Belgium is too weak to withstand a new attack from the East." The Belgian Army is now only 113,500 men, and it is desired to reduce this military force to the minimum that safety will permit, in order to save expense and also to release as much manpower as possible for industrial purposes. For these reasons Belgium has sought mutual defensive military agreements with some of her neighbors. A military convention

has already been concluded with France. At Cannes, M. Jaspar, Belgian Minister for Foreign Affairs, began conversations with the British Government looking to a similar understanding with Great Britain; the final conditions of the Anglo-Belgian defensive pact have not yet been worked out. It is understood that these military conventions do not in any way place Belgium under the suzerainty of either England or France, but they are "mutually defensive" agreements between independent powers, providing for mutual assistance in the event of "unprovoked attack" on either of the contracting parties.

Belgium has now begun negotiations with Holland for a revision of the treaty of 1839. A military convention is not in contemplation, but the negotiations involve a number of questions touching the strategic position of Belgium. Both sides of the mouth of the Scheldt River—the gateway to the great Belgian port of Antwerp—are held by Holland. This prevented the Allies from giving more effective aid in the defense of Antwerp, and compelled the British marines to come by the overland route through Ostend. Then there is the question of the Dutch Province of Limbourg—a very narrow strip of land lying between Belgium and Germany. In spite of the fact that Holland was a neutral power, a large number of German troops escaped through Dutch Limbourg during the great retreat of 1918. It is felt in Belgium that if Germany could force an exit through this door, she might some day force an entrance through the same.

# THE I. W. W. MENACE SELF-REVEALED

By HARRY HIBSCHMAN, LL.D.

*Definite facts about an organization whose avowed purpose is to destroy the wage system and the Government of the United States—Its program of violence described by its authorized spokesmen*

Dr. Hibschman is a native of Kansas and was for fourteen years a practicing attorney in Washington and other Northwestern States. He was appointed to investigate the killing of four members of the American Legion at Centralia, Wash., in 1919, a task which led him to make an extended study of the I. W. W. and other radical movements. For the last two years he has been a lecturer for the Radcliffe Chautauqua System.—EDITOR.

**R**ECENTLY an audience of Chicago business men was polled to find out how many of them had ever read the "I. W. W. Preamble," that is, the introduction to the I. W. W. constitution, and there was not one. Yet the organization known as the Industrial Workers of the World was born in that city, its national headquarters have always been there, its leaders have been before the courts of that city in the most noted of trials, and its acts have been front-page news in the great dailies scores of times.

Every 100 per cent. American, of course, has heard of the I. W. W., but he does not *know* the I. W. W. "What's the difference?" he is apt to say. "All this talk of the I. W. W. and of Bolshevism in America is only moonshine."

If you are one of those who think so, turn back to the newspapers printed in the Dakotas and Nebraska during the harvest season of 1921, and read where at least two men, ex-service men, were killed because they defied the I. W. W., who tried to control the wheat fields. Or read in a recent number of the Congressional Record how the President of the International Seamen's Union testified that I. W. W. members in increasing numbers are joining the crews of American vessels. Or read of the activities of the reds in the coal regions. Or go back to the most execrable

I. W. W. deed of recent years, the shooting at Centralia, Wash.

It was the first anniversary of Armistice Day. Thousands had gathered in the little city to view the parade or to join in the exercises. They crowded the sidewalks as the various organizations paraded down the street. They cheered and they applauded. But without warning their holiday became a ghastly day of death. As the members of the American Legion passed the I. W. W. Hall, suddenly shots rang out from a hotel diagonally across the street, from an old lodging house down in the next block, from the hall itself, and from a hillside a quarter of a mile away, where men with high-powered hunting rifles were hidden behind stumps and in the brush; and, ambushed, unsuspecting, unarmed, and unafraid, three of the ex-service men, wearing the very uniforms in which they returned from Siberia and France, were shot down there on the street like dogs. Three others were wounded; and another was killed a few minutes later while pursuing a fleeing I. W. W.

With the approval of the American Legion I made a personal investigation of the events of that tragic day. It was obvious that the shooting was carefully planned beforehand, and that men were hidden, armed, in advantageous spots before the parade began. Who these men were has become a matter of record, for eight of them have been convicted of murder and one adjudged insane. They were all militant I. W. W.

Of course, decent men cannot conceive how any one can be so utterly depraved as to commit such a dastardly deed deliberately, defiantly, and in cold blood. What

motive can there be, what answer to one's conscience? The apparent mystery becomes no mystery at all when one becomes acquainted with syndicalistic teachings of the I. W. W.

The Industrial Workers of the World were organized in Chicago in 1905, following several previous conferences of radicals. The constitution then adopted was inharmonious and contradictory, as it was a compromise intended to hold in line men of vitally different views. Consequently, for three years there was internal strife, with the result that the convention of 1908, controlled by the radical element—the reddest of red—amended the Preamble in a vital matter, and the organization was split in two. Thereafter for a number of years there was one I. W. W. in Detroit and another in Chicago. It is the latter that has survived.

Its most enthusiastic leaders have claimed a membership of three or four hundred thousand. It has in fact probably less than one hundred thousand dues-paying members. But, even so, it has become the most persistent, the most pernicious, the most warlike and the most uncompromising revolutionary organization in this country. More ominous still, millions—many of whom would look on a professing I. W. W. with disdain—have accepted the organization's teachings and practice its tactics. Of this there was evidence in the threatened railroad strike of 1921, in the crimes committed in Chicago after the Landis award, and in the recent massacres in the Illinois coal region.

#### PURPOSE PLAINLY STATED

The Preamble of the I. W. W. constitution as it now reads contains the following pregnant statements:

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people, and the few who make up the employing class have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

We find that the centering of management of the industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever-growing power of the employing class. \* \* \*

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair

day's work for a fair day's wage," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. \* \* \* By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.

The opening sentence and the second paragraph reveal the starting point of I. W. W. reasoning—the doctrine of class warfare. It is accepted as a fact that the wage worker and his employer must each have a heart filled with hatred for the other, and that those who work for wages and those who pay the wages must be lined up against one another like two contending armies and engage in war to the death until the employing class is wiped off the face of the earth. It is an utterly false premise, but, if it be granted, the second doctrine, that of class solidarity—"the workers of the world must organize as a class"—is logical enough. Accepting it, the I. W. W. condemn the trade union and advocate an organization based on industrial rather than on craft lines. They want to bring about the formation of one union for each industry, regardless of the occupations followed by the individual workers. Thus, theoretically, the miners' branch will contain carpenters, blacksmiths, drillers, engineers, muckers and all others engaged in mining. The agricultural workers' union will have in its membership migratory farm hands, hired men, milkers and all others who hire out to work on the land. The railway workers will have a union to which will belong the section man as well as the engineer, and all in between. On this plan all the workers are to be organized and then brought together in one big union, the name of which is Industrial Workers of the World.

In radical publications the letters O. B. U. are almost as common as I. W. W. They represent a challenge to the American Federation of Labor and to trade unionism in general, as well as to the present order of society. Eventually this one big union is to embrace within its ranks all the workers of the country. Then the revolution is to change this inhospitable earth into a workers' paradise.

As to membership, the I. W. W. constitution distinctly provides that it shall be limited to wage earners; in the words of



Abner E. Woodruff, one of the organization's official writers, "The proletariat makes no appeal to any but the wage-earning class." The same writer thus defines the word "proletariat," so constantly used in radical literature:

Unskilled laborers and non-specialized machine operatives are now usually denominated "proletarians," and by "proletariat" we mean a class of laborers possessing neither property nor specialized skill, who sell their labor power in the open market to the highest bidder, and are able to sell that power only so long as it will produce a profit for the purchaser.

The thing to be accomplished has been plainly stated in the Preamble; but it is even more frankly expressed in a little pamphlet written by Grover H. Perry and published by the I. W. W. Publishing Bureau, in Chicago. Perry says:

We are going to do away with capitalism by taking possession of the land and of the machinery of production. We don't intend to buy them, either.

We are plainly notified that at the time of the revolution the destruction of capitalism will be accomplished by the violent seizure of the property we now own. The members of the agricultural workers' union are to seize the farms, the ranches and the plantations—all the land. The miners are to take possession of the mines, the railroad workers of the railroads, the timber workers of the timber and the mills and the other workers of the respective industries in which they are engaged, kicking out the present owners and managers without ceremony. Thus is capitalism to be destroyed and the wage system abolished.

#### "INDUSTRIAL COMMUNISM"

Capitalism is to be succeeded by a system under which the workers in the various industries will operate them for their own benefit through their I. W. W. unions. They alone will own, manage, control and enjoy the land, the mines, the mills, the factories and the other industries and natural resources of the country; and thus will be inaugurated what a writer in the One Big Union Monthly calls "Industrial Communism."

Communism is nothing new or untried. It was in operation among savages ten thousand years ago; and more recently it has again been demonstrated a failure

and a blight in Russia. But that is what our neighbor, Mr. I. W. W., would give us in exchange for our present industrial system.

A favorite pronouncement of the I. W. W. agitator is, "We are working to put the workingman on top and to put the boss to work." One of them expressed it thus concretely in the days when J. J. Hill was still living:

Some fine morning [he said], Jim Hill will come down to his office and find the I. W. W. Executive Committee in possession with their feet on his mahogany desk. "What are you bums doing here?" he will ask; and they will answer him, "We've taken over the Great Northern Railroad. From now on we are going to run it." They'll argue back and forth a lot, and there'll be some cussing, but finally Jim will ask, "Where do I come in? What am I supposed to do?" And they'll answer him, "We've just been talking about that. We know you're a pretty good man, even if you are old and crooked as a dog's hind leg. But we don't want you to starve. So we've decided to give you a job—you shall work on the section between St. Paul and Minneapolis."

That was the last word the speaker was able to say for some minutes, for his hearers were on their feet, cheering, whistling and shouting. They believed in "putting the boss to work."

#### POLITICAL REVOLUTION

The death-knell of the present industrial system would also toll the end of the present State, and a new Government would arise. Perry again is very frank and clear on this phase of the subject. He says:

The Industrial Workers of the World are laying the foundation of a new Government. This Government will have for its legislative halls the mills, the workshops and the factories. Its legislators will be the men in the mills, the workshops and the factories. Its legislative enactments will be those pertaining to the welfare of the workers.

The One Big Union Monthly, an official I. W. W. publication, contained an article a few years ago stating the position as follows:

The I. W. W. has given up all thought of using the machinery of the present State for its purposes. It proposes to create entirely new machinery of administration in which not even a particle of the old shall enter as a constituent part. We propose to regroup all mankind on industrial lines in industrial organizations which we hope will make superfluous and crowd out the political groupings which constitute the State. We propose to make the unit of indus-

try—the place of work, the shop, the mill, the field, the ship—the basis of our new social organization.

Abner E. Woodruff's "Advancing Proletariat" is also worth quoting in this connection:

It (the proletariat) realizes that the modern Government is but a shadow and not a substance, that it is merely a committee acting for the economically powerful—and that it will dissolve of its own motion whenever its economic support is withdrawn. Representation in such a Government has no value to the proletariat, since it does not care to trade or traffic with the other classes, for whom it possesses only hatred and contempt. \* \* \*

It proposes that the ballot box shall repose first in the union hall and then in the shop; and one needs only to function in industry to be a voter there. The recently landed immigrant who has a job is equal to the descendant of the Pilgrim fathers, who also works for bread.

In other words, the I. W. W. propose to bring to an end this Government so aptly described by Lincoln as "a Government of the people, by the people and for the people," and to set up in its place a Government of a class, by a class and for a class.

#### "DIRECT ACTION"

Our bitterest quarrel with the I. W. W. arises, however, not over the things they seek to do. It is not the end sought nearly as much as the means to be used that arouses our relentless opposition and antagonism.

Originally the Preamble contained a provision recognizing the need of political action for the purpose of attaining the ends already described. It was because of the original acceptance of this doctrine of political action that the split occurred in 1908, for the radicals always contended that political action was futile. When they were able, then, to control the annual convention they caused the Preamble to be amended so as to eliminate all reference to political action; and since that time it has read as quoted above. The effect of the amendment was to reject the ballot and the machinery of the State as means by which to attain industrial and social changes. In fact, the I. W. W. look upon these with contempt.

Their faith in this regard has been ably stated by many writers, but by none more

frankly and boldly than by Woodruff. He says:

All the activities of the proletariat furthering its program for a new society must necessarily be revolutionary and beyond the "law." Therefore, the Socialist politician's "legal revolution" idea is regarded as absurd by the proletariat; and since the proletariat realizes that all its forces must be closely co-ordinated and drilled in production and co-operation in order to function in the new society, the idea that the whole economic structure of this present society can be changed by going to the polls once every two or four years is especially absurd.

\* \* \* To teach this class that its way to freedom lies primarily through the ballot box is a miserable miseducation. \* \* \* In the field of politics the program of the proletariat should be "Pressure rather than participation."

What the I. W. W. advocate is most succinctly stated by Vincent St. John, who was for many years Secretary of the organization, and who, because of his activities during the war, is now the guest of Uncle Sam at Leavenworth, Kan. In his book, "The I. W. W.: Its History, Structure and Methods," he says:

In short, the I. W. W. advocates the use of militant direct action tactics to the full extent of our power to make good.

"Direct action" implies anything the ingenuity of man can suggest except only political or parliamentary action. The particular means employed may be unlawful, criminal, mean, cruel, inhuman or violent. That is no objection. The only test applied is, does it get results? Any action by the workers themselves without the use of the ballot, the law, or the machinery of the State is "direct action."

One type of "direct action" is known as sabotage. The word comes from the French "sabot," or wooden shoe, and is said to have come into use after some French workingmen in a time of industrial strife took off their wooden shoes and stuck them into the silk looms. Similar acts had, of course, been perpetrated before; but the word "sabotage" came to be applied after that to a comprehensive system involving practices of like nature. So extensive has it become that specialists have been developed who are known as "sab cats." Today it means slackening on the job, doing poor work, damaging property, &c. One I. W. W. writer defines it as "The conscious withdrawal of the workers' efficiency."

Examples of sabotage are plentiful. During the war, for instance, it was not an uncommon thing in the spruce districts of the Northwest to have logs reach the saw with spikes driven into them so cleverly that they could not be discovered until the saw reached them. Then again vital parts were removed from machinery used in logging and thrown into the brush or streams so that the work was tied up until repairs could be brought in from the outside, involving sometimes serious and expensive delays. Putting emery dust into the bearings of expensive machinery was one of the favorite ways of practicing sabotage in the mining camps of the West in war time; and in the harvest fields I. W. W. teachings meant the blowing up of machines and burning of crops.

#### SONGS OF SABOTAGE

Printed cards suggesting ways of practicing sabotage have been distributed by the I. W. W. from time to time; and some of their songs are fruitful in suggestions of the same kind. For example, this doggerel appears in the official song book:

It's a long way, now understand me; it's a long way to town;  
It's a long way across the prairie, and to hell with Farmer John.  
Up goes machine or wages, and the hours must come down;  
For we're out for a Winter's stake this Summer, and we want no scabs around.

And this:

I had a job once threshing wheat, worked sixteen hours with hands and feet;  
And when the moon was shining bright, they kept me working all the night.  
One moonlight night, I hate to tell, I "accidentally" slipped and fell;  
My pitchfork went right in between some cog-wheels of that thresh machine.

Ta-ra-ra-boom-de-ay!  
It made a noise that way,  
And wheels and bolts and hay,  
Went flying every way.  
That stingy rube said, "Well,  
A thousand gone to hell."  
But I did sleep that night,  
I needed it all right.

Next day that stingy rube did say, "I'll bring my eggs to town today;  
You grease my wagon up, you mutt, and don't forget to screw the nut."  
I greased his wagon up all right, but plumb forgot to screw the nut,  
And when he started on that trip, the wheel slipped off and broke his hip.

One I. W. W. writer on "Sabotage," Walker C. Smith, says:

Sabotage is the destruction of profits to gain a definite revolutionary end. \* \* \* It may mean the damaging of raw materials destined for a scab factory or shop. It may mean the spoiling of a finished product. It may mean the displacement of parts of machinery or the disarrangement of a whole machine where that machine is the one on which the other machines are dependent for material. It may mean working slow. It may mean poor work. It may mean missending packages, giving overweight to customers, pointing out defects in goods, using the best of materials where the employer desires adulteration and also the telling of trade secrets. In fact it has as many variations as there are different lines of work.

#### SCRAPPING ALL MORAL STANDARDS

The best-known example of the use of direct action tactics, of course, is the strike; but the I. W. W. looks upon each strike as something more than a struggle for the particular demand ostensibly involved. Thus Big Bill Haywood, for years the leader of the I. W. W., but now an associate of Lenin and Trotzky, a fugitive from justice and a renegade, said before an audience in New York:

A strike is an incipient revolution. \* \* \* If I didn't think that the general strike was leading on to the great revolution which will emancipate the working class, I wouldn't be here.

Turning again to Perry's pamphlet, "The Revolutionary I. W. W.," we find this:

We will demand more and more wages from our employers. We will demand and enforce shorter and shorter hours. As we gain these demands we are diminishing the profits of the boss. We are taking away his power. We are gaining that power for ourselves. All the time we become more disciplined. We become more self-confident. We realize that without our labor power no wealth can be produced. We fold our arms. The mills close. Industry is at a standstill. We then make our proposition to our former masters.

In other words, the general strike is to be the beginning of the revolution. On a given day all the workers organized in this One Big Union will throw down their tools. Not a train will move, not a ship sail, not a mine bring up a pound of ore or coal, not a factory turn a wheel, not a morsel of food be produced or moved, but "all industry will be at a standstill." And that strike will be used to starve and

coerce society into submission to the new communistic régime. "The general strike is the social revolution."

But perhaps the reader still fails to see any key to the Centralia outrage. It is to be found in the unmoral I. W. W. philosophy. Speaking of sabotage, for instance, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn says:

I am not going to attempt to justify sabotage on any moral ground. If the workers consider that sabotage is necessary, that in itself makes sabotage moral. Its necessity is its excuse for existence.

Joseph J. Ettor wrote the following while in jail in Lawrence, Mass.:

New conceptions of right and wrong must generate and permeate the workers. We must look on conduct and actions that advance the economic position of the working class as right, ethically, legally, religiously, socially and by every other measurement.

And St. John bluntly clinches the confession thus:

As a revolutionary organization the Industrial Workers of the World aims to use any and all tactics that will get the results sought with the least expenditure of time and energy. The tactics used are determined solely by the power of the organization to make good in their use. *The question of right or wrong does not concern us.*

Almost defiantly he says there is no moral standard that governs the acts of his organization. Injury and destruction of property and the cheating and defrauding of the employer and society are brazenly taught and defended. The I. W. W. is something more than a labor problem; it is a moral issue that conscripts us to fight for the preservation of the moral sense, to save honor and virtue from being destroyed in the hearts of American workingmen.

#### THE CENTRALIA OUTRAGE

And Centralia? That was a deliberate, unprovoked, unjustifiable murder. I. W. W. witnesses confessed both off and on the witness stand that before the parade began they hid themselves in the places already described, armed, ready and determined, because they feared a raid on their hall.

In April, 1918, another building then occupied by them had been raided; and their excuse for the preparations made on Armistice Day, 1919, was that they believed another raid had been planned for that time. They testified, of course, that the raid took place and that they shot to

defend the hall. The Legionnaires were, in fact, marking time, halted in platoon formation at a considerable distance beyond the hall, and did not break ranks until after the shooting began. So testified even one of the I. W. W. who was present inside the hall on that day. Not a member of the Legion was armed, not one had heard of any proposed raid, many of them did not even know the I. W. W. hall was there, and not one was guilty of a provocative act before the bullets began to fly. Those who were killed were slain at points distant from the hall and by bullets fired from places outside the hall.

Warren Grimm, Commander of the Legion, was at the head of the ex-service men more than two hundred feet south of the hall, laughing light-heartedly, with his face turned away from the hall, when he was so cruelly shot down without warning and without cause. One of the others, Ben Casagrande, a bootblack, born across the sea, fell, an offering for his adopted country, down a side street, far out of sight of the hall.

"I exonerate, now and forever after," said the I. W. W. attorney in his opening statement at the trial, "the American Legion as an organization from any responsibility." Perhaps he spoke for effect only, but the facts do absolutely exonerate the Legion and its members. Indeed, their self-restraint and their loyalty to American ideals of law and order in the face of such horrible provocation and such striking temptation to give the I. W. W. a dose of their own "direct action" medicine, will always remain a conspicuous part of the record of that fateful Armistice Day.

#### NO COUNTRY AND NO GOD

Given the vicious doctrine of class conflict, the perverted view that the present social order must be overthrown, the acceptance of direct action and sabotage as the weapons, the rejection of all moral restraints and the heroics of judicial martyrdom, is it any wonder that Industrial Workers of the World volunteer in a spirit of fanaticism for the destruction of property or for the killing of men? Centralia was I. W. W. doctrine in deed, I. W. W. passion in play, I. W. W. logic pointing the way.

From what has already been said it is



easy to infer that an I. W. W. can never be a patriot; but to complete his introduction it may be well to quote from his literature. Turning again to Perry, we find this statement:

The Industrial Workers of the World is an international movement. We are patriotic for our class, the working class. We realize that as workers we have no country. The flags and symbols that once meant great things to us have been seized by our employers. Today they mean naught to us but oppression and tyranny.

It is well known, of course, that during the years 1917 and 1918 the I. W. W. did everything in its power both as an organization and as individuals to hinder the prosecution and the winning of the war. Their real attitude toward the conflict and those engaged in it—in fact their open contempt and disrespect for all things sacred—was shown hundreds of times in their halls and other meeting places by the use of one of the songs in the red song book already mentioned. This particular song is a parody on the well-known hymn, "Onward, Christian Soldiers," and was sung by the I. W. W. in a spirit of levity for the purpose of heaping scorn and derision on every man who wore the American uniform. With sneers on their lips they sang:

Onward, Christian soldiers! Duty's way is plain;  
Slay your Christian neighbors, or by them be slain.

Pulpiters are spouting effervescent swill,  
God above is calling you to rob and rape and kill;

All your acts are sanctified by the Lamb on high;  
If you love the Holy Ghost, go murder, pray and die.

The other four stanzas are too vile and too sacrilegious to be reproduced here; but enough has been said to show that it is no exaggeration to say that I. W. W.-ism means, "No master, no country and no God."

#### THE DOCTRINE OF SYNDICALISM

The members of this organization call themselves syndicalists. The word syndicalism has a double meaning. It comes from a French word meaning union, and may be defined, first, as a labor movement that has for its object the destruction of the capitalistic system of production, and, second, as the doctrine that social, economic and political changes and reforms are to be accomplished, not through the

ballot and the machinery of the State, but through economic pressure and by the use of direct action tactics. Ten years ago the word had hardly been heard in the United States. At the present time at least twenty States have statutes defining syndicalism and making it unlawful to advocate syndicalist doctrines or to practice syndicalist methods.

One of the official I. W. W. papers, dated Oct. 29, 1921, reported the attempt made to bomb the residence of the American Ambassador in Paris and, after referring to what it called "the impending judicial murder of Sacco and Vanzetti," said:

A sublime triumph of international solidarity has been achieved on behalf of two obscure and hitherto unknown workers; there has thundered from across the Atlantic the imperious mandate of class-conscious labor, "Sacco and Vanzetti shall not die."

In order to influence the Judge before whom the case of these two men was pending on a motion for a new trial, American representatives in France, in Italy and in other foreign countries were threatened and attacked, strikes were to be called here at home, and "vigorous resolutions" were sent to the Judge. Suppose you were on trial and men threatened the Court if he failed to send you to the electric chair! It is just as reasonable to bring pressure for conviction as it is for acquittal. In either case it is an attempt to substitute force for an orderly procedure under the Constitution.

But that is syndicalism running rampant. A milder and more familiar illustration of syndicalist tactics is found in the use of strikes to intimidate the Government. In the Fall of 1916 the railroad men threatened to strike unless an eight-hour law was passed. Intimidated by the threats of the men and their organizations, Congress passed the Adamson law. Later the roads passed under Government control, but were returned to the companies under the Esch-Cummins act. This act provided for the appointment of a labor board of nine members to have jurisdiction over the relations of the roads and their employees. Three of the members are nominated by labor, three by the roads, and three represent the public; and it is notable that the employees opposed with all their might the

provision in the law for these three representatives of the people at large. They wanted the board to be a dickering body only. The idea of having three men whose concern should be the general welfare was not welcome at all.

This board rendered one decision for an increase of wages that became effective in 1920. Then in 1921 it ordered a decrease. The order was followed by threats of a strike. Whether the board's decision had been just or unjust concerns us not at all. The fact that cannot be overemphasized is that, regardless of the merits of the contentions of the men, such a strike would have been a syndicalistic strike—one that had for its object the forcing of favorable governmental action, quasi-judicial action at that, by the use of economic pressure against the people of the land.

What, then, of the Adamson law?

The same answer. It was syndicalist tactics that procured the passage of that law.

It is not intended, of course, to charge that the railroad workers who voted for a strike on either occasion were conscious syndicalists. On the contrary, probably very few of them have any acquaintance with the word or the doctrine for which it stands. But, as the courts frequently hold, a man's intent must be determined by the inevitable consequences of the forces which he puts into operation; or, to put it differently, a man is presumed to intend the natural results of his acts. And so, whether they realized it or not, the railroad workers invited judgment of their

threatened strike according to its surrounding conditions and its inevitable consequences. That judgment would necessarily have been that they had headed out into the stream, perhaps without recognizing it, and were bound for the land of the syndicalists.

If the railroad workers are ignorant of these things, it is different with the I. W. W., for they say in one of their papers:

Perhaps the most inspiring demonstration ever seen in this country of the omnipotence of labor when it is united and determined was staged by the railroad workers in 1916. \* \* \* Congress came down like Davy Crockett's coon, and the railway men got their Adamson law within the time limit they had set. That was a revolutionary event. The spirit of the workers was revolutionary.

The menace lies not in the organization known as the Industrial Workers of the World; it lies in the possible acceptance of its teachings, more or less unconsciously, by other workers and other organizations who fail to understand the real scope and purport of these doctrines. Fully realizing this, the I. W. W. are now "boring from the inside" and working under some other guise than their own. They are more dangerous thus than when they boldly proclaim themselves.

Viewed from any sane standpoint, I. W. W.ism is a virulent thing, with which every American ought to be familiar. To meet it we must understand it. To contend with it we must be armed with knowledge. For indifference never preserved an ideal and ignorance never gave birth to progress.

## AFFAIRS IN SIBERIA

**I**N Vladivostok, the Government headed by Spiridon Merkulov successfully weathered a serious crisis, the outcome of which was wholly uncertain at the beginning of June. Advice received by the Chita Government representatives at Washington on June 4 indicated that a coup against the Merkulov Government had been attempted, following the President's attempt to dissolve the Constituent Assembly. Later information threw light on the situation. The Assembly refused to dissolve, repudiated Merkulov and his Government and attempted to form a new Government. The arrest of Merkulov was ordered, but the latter fortified himself within his home, the navy and a considerable number of Kappel troops rallied to his defense, and he finally managed to regain power, after General Diedrichs, who had the support of the rebellious

Parliament, refused the Presidency and swung his influence to the aid of Merkulov. The final result was announced by the following dispatch received in Washington on June 13: "The revolt against the Priamur Government did not meet the approval of the majority of the population or the army, and the entire forces of the navy remained with the Government. On Sunday, June 11, the revolt ended, and on Monday all the Government departments and offices renewed their work." How great a part the benevolent neutrality of the Japanese military command at Vladivostok played in this result was not revealed.

Just before this latest crisis began, Japan had accepted proposals from the Merkulov Government to negotiate regarding the status of the fisheries question, which has been a sore point to the Russians of the Maritime Province.

# BLANKET LIABILITY FOR LABOR UNIONS

By DAVID Y. THOMAS

Professor of History in the University of Arkansas

*Union organizations made responsible for damages inflicted by their members during strike disturbances under the recent decision of the Supreme Court on the Coronado mine case—History of case*

THE decision of the Supreme Court in the Coronado Coal case, announced by Chief Justice Taft on June 5, 1922, is even more significant than that of the now famous Danbury Hatters' case. The Coronado case had its beginning in the fight for the open shop, and it involved the question of the extent to which labor unions may be held liable under the Sherman Anti-Trust act. The Supreme Court decision confirmed an earlier decision in the same case made on Nov. 22, 1917, by the United States District Court sitting at Fort Smith, Ark., seeking to establish this principle of blanket liability. Thus the circle begun by the application of the blanket injunction, first used by our courts in the Pullman Car strike of 1894, was completed, and labor unions as a whole have thereby been placed in a serious position of responsibility for all acts of violence and damages done by their individual members.

To understand the Coronado case it is necessary to fill in the historic background. The scene was the Hartford Valley of Arkansas. The time was in 1914, when similar disorders were being enacted in Colorado on a larger stage. The chief actors in the Arkansas Valley drama were the Bache-Denman Coal Company and its former employees, then locked out, who were members of the United Mine Workers of America.

The Bache-Denman Company was organized in 1903 to mine coal in Arkansas. It acquired valuable properties not far from Fort Smith and opened several mines. One of these, Mine No. 4, was located at Prairie Creek. Another, the Coronado, was near by. Mr. Bache, chief owner of the company, was absent most of the time; the business was managed by a superin-

tendent. Until 1914 the mines were operated with union labor. After numerous troubles with the unions Mr. Bache decided in 1914 to run an open shop, on the ground that it would be less expensive, even if he paid union wages, because of the many vexatious demands of the unions. This decision was reached in March, 1914.

Immediate preparations were made to protect the mines with armed guards. Rifles and ammunition were bought, searchlights were put on the shaft and tippie, and a contract was made with the Burns Detective Agency to send "four or five reliable watchmen." On April 4 an attempt was made to open the mines on the open-shop basis, and Mr. Bache left Prairie Creek for Fort Smith, where he remained until the tragedy occurred a few days later.

On April 6 a committee from about a thousand miners and citizens of the neighboring town of Hartford waited on Superintendent Cameron and asked him to "pull the fires" and close the mines. About the same time a fight occurred with Barnes, one of the armed guards. A little later another committee from the miners and citizens, now gathered at a school house near by, waited on the superintendent, and he agreed to pull the fires and close the mines. Scarcely had the work of pulling the fires begun, however, when a riot was started, in which several men were beaten, the guards being the worst sufferers. The tippie was fired in the course of the riot, but a rain put it out.

## COURT INJUNCTION DEFIED

An injunction from the Federal Judge at Fort Smith was now secured against the miners, armed guards were put on the property, deputy marshals were sent to see

that the injunction was obeyed, and another attempt was made to run the mines. From that time until July 17, when a battle with a few fatalities occurred, the feeling was intense. In a suit to be mentioned later the operators charged that Peter Stewart, President of District No. 21, said: "Damn that injunction! The Government is against us, but the people are for us, and we won't let that mine run." It was clearly proved that Holt, Secretary of the union, bought rifles and shipped them in, though it was also proved that this action was not approved by some of the higher officials, and that at least one consignment of arms was shipped out of Hartford.\* On the other hand the defense charged that the guards, one of whom was an ex-convict and the others of bad character, insulted schoolgirls and terrorized the community. On July 12, the Sunday night preceding the big battle of July 17, somebody "shot up" Frogtown, a miners' camp half a mile from No. 4. The plaintiffs charged that this was a "faked" shooting, gotten up by the union miners, who told the people that it was done by the guards and "scabs" in the hope of arousing public feeling against them. The defense charged that it was done by the guards because a bootlegger refused to sell them whisky. Three days later the three deputy United States marshals who had been stationed there were withdrawn.

The so-called battle of July 17 began early in the morning at Prairie Creek with an attack upon Mine No. 4. The guards and non-union employes resisted for a while, but were outflanked and fled. In the course of the battle the tippie was fired and the mine dynamited. Two days later two non-union miners were killed by an unknown person. July 20 the Coronado mine was attacked, and partly destroyed. While these disorders were in progress a board member of the union appealed to the Federal Court, but Judge Frank Youmans said that it was a local affair and referred him to the Sheriff. The Sheriff said that the injunction issued

by the Federal Court had taken it out of his hands, and he did nothing.

Later, the Federal Court began prosecutions for violations of the injunction against interfering with the company, and ten of the accused men, including Peter Stewart and several officials and members of the union, pleaded guilty, or were convicted and sentenced to jail (Sept. 1). The fines ranged from \$500 to \$1,000, and the jail sentences from three months to two years. But the troubles did not stop here. On Oct. 28 an attack was made on two United States marshals, and the house occupied by them was burned after they had fled. Three days later four men held up a deputy marshal and released three prisoners whom he had arrested on a bench warrant. Federal troops were now brought in and remained until January, 1915, when they were sent off to the Mexican border. A few non-union miners were imported while the troops were there. The convicted miners appealed to the Circuit Court of Appeals at St. Louis, but the action of the lower court was sustained. The United Mine Workers now appealed for clemency, and by March, 1917, all were free, either having paid the penalty, been paroled, or pardoned (including Peter Stewart) by President Wilson.

Practically no mining was done at any of the mines after the trouble began. They remained idle until March and September, 1915, when the leases of the company were canceled.

#### THE FIGHT FOR DAMAGES

Labor unions have steadily refused to incorporate, largely to escape joint and corporate liability. In the celebrated Danbury Hatters' case (Loewe vs. Lawler) the plaintiff brought suit, not against the union which had declared the boycott, but against certain members of the union as individuals. In Arkansas the same lawyers who had conducted the Danbury Hatters' case brought suit for their clients against the United Mine Workers of America, against District No. 21 of this order and the officers thereof, against twenty-seven local unions and their officers, and sixty-five individuals, some of whom were members of the union while some were not. The suit was first filed September, 1914, and the plaintiff asked for \$1,250,000

\*The testimony introduced in connection with these transactions throws a curious light on business morality. A letter was read from the agent of the concern supplying the war material which showed that the company was "neutral," supplying both sides. The agent cautioned his superiors to keep this a secret, so that they might continue to stand well with both sides in business matters.



damages under the Sherman Anti-Trust act. Judge Youmans sustained the demurrer of the defendants that the acts complained of did not constitute interference with interstate commerce, and dismissed the case. On appeal the Circuit Court of Appeals at St. Louis reversed the decision of the lower court and remanded the case for trial (July, 1916). Judge Youmans then asked to be excused, and Judge James D. Elliott of South Dakota took his place. The plaintiffs now amended their case, and it was finally brought to trial Oct. 23, 1917, and concluded Nov. 22.

In the last trial the damages sought amounted to \$2,222,000. The chief items were: Physical property destroyed, \$250,000; cancellation of leases, \$500,000; losses in profits from Oct. 1, 1916, to Nov. 1, 1917, on the basis of \$1.10 profit per ton, \$600,000. The last item was not added to those for which triple damages were asked under the Sherman law. As in the original case, the suit was directed against John P. White and other officials of the unions and against the unions and individuals as mentioned above. The specific charge against these organizations and individuals was that they had conspired with union coal operators and "certain other persons" to destroy the property of all non-union coal operators in order to prevent the competition of non-union mines with union mines and so interfere with interstate commerce. In pursuance of this policy, said the plaintiffs, "they have destroyed our property, rendered us bankrupt, blown up our tipples, and dynamited our slopes."

The plaintiffs charged that a conspiracy to destroy non-union competition had existed since 1898. In support of this charge they offered stacks of documentary evidence, consisting of the constitution and by-laws of the union, files of the *Miners' Journal*, 1892-1916, records of the miners' conventions and wage conferences, 1898-1916, district and local records, and contracts with operators. The wage conferences, wage agreements and the like, since 1898, the plaintiffs held, were acts of conspiracy, and the way they were carried out was offered to show the purpose for which they existed. For example, there were agreements to unionize the West Virginia fields

and the operators complained of the failure to do this.

In the first trial the defense had objected to the production of such evidence on the ground that the miners' union was not a legal entity, that it was a private organization, and could not be compelled to produce its private records, which might incriminate it and render it liable for damages. This contention was upheld by Judge Youmans, but his ruling was reversed in the Court of Appeals. Evidence was now produced from the records and the *Miners' Journal*. The Treasurer's books were used to show that the union was financially a powerful organization—it had \$2,674,134 in the treasury. President White's speech, made in 1916, was quoted to show that it controlled 500,000 men. The use of funds to pay the fines of the men convicted after the troubles in 1914 was cited to show that the union approved of violence. Further proof of complicity was offered in extracts from the *Journal*, which sympathized with the men, though nothing was read directly approving of violence, and in the alleged fact that the officers of the union never exercised disciplinary powers against members who had violated the law. The evidence that members of the union were responsible for the violence in the Hartford Valley trouble of 1914 consisted of sworn statements of eyewitnesses. About sixteen days of the trial were consumed by the plaintiff.

#### HOW LIABILITY WAS ESTABLISHED

The defense entered a blanket denial of all the charges. The acts of violence in the Hartford Valley, they said, were not the acts of the union, but the acts of an outraged community, which sought to rid itself of armed guards and "scabs" who were insulting women and terrorizing the community. Nobody knew who had destroyed Mine No. 4. Evidence was offered to show that the Coronado mine was destroyed by employees of the company. On the matter of the alleged conspiracy to destroy competition by unionizing the mines, they declared that, if there were any guilt in this, then the plaintiffs were partners in the guilt, for they had attended wage conferences and signed wage agreements. However, the great mass of the evidence

offered by the plaintiff on this point had already been ruled out as having no bearing on this particular case. Yet it is interesting to note that a few days after the jury rendered their verdict in this case the Supreme Court held (*Hitchman Coal and Coke Company vs. the United Mine Workers of America*) that the effort to get the employes to violate their agreement with their employers in joining the union was "a common-law conspiracy in unreasonable restraint of trade" and sustained an injunction against it. The defense finished its case in three days.

In his charge to the jury Judge Elliott made several important rulings and interpretations of law. If the jury found, he said, that the property had been destroyed by an outraged community, not for the purpose of interfering with interstate commerce, but to rid itself of armed guards because of conduct making their presence intolerable, then the verdict should be for the defense. But if it appeared that the community had been aroused to action against the guards by acts of the union miners done in furtherance of the alleged conspiracy, then the miners should be held liable for the acts which they had incited. He further ruled that if the property of the Bache-Denman Company was destroyed as a result of the conspiracy between two members of the union or between two members of the union and others, then the organization, international, district and local, and individual members should be held responsible. In other words, the miners' union, a sort of federal organization, was an entity and was responsible in all its parts for the acts of any two members of any part of this entity. To establish guilt it was not necessary to prove a conspiracy by direct statements, but it could be proved by a series of circumstances or a concert of action toward an unlawful purpose. In his opinion the evidence proved the guilt of the accused, but he gave no instructions for a verdict of guilty. The jury returned a verdict for \$200,000 actual damages, which, when trebled under the Sherman act, became \$600,000. A few days later the plaintiffs brought suit for \$120,600 interest on the award. The Pennsylvania Mining Company, which had been waiting to see the result, now brought suit for \$600,000 to

recoup it for similar damages suffered, and secured judgment.

The most startling, not to say revolutionary, thing in Judge Elliott's instructions was that a union may be held responsible for the concerted acts of any two of its members. It would be difficult to go further than this in establishing the principle of blanket liability. It simply meant that a great national organization, such as the United Mine Workers of America, might be held liable for the act of two individuals in some remote corner of the country, whether really approving of such acts or not.

On appeal, the Circuit Court of Appeals at St. Louis sustained the decision of the lower court, but the Supreme Court reversed the decision and remanded the case for a new trial. In some respects the decision in this case is like that in the famous *Dred Scott* case. After having announced the decision of the court that it had no jurisdiction in the *Dred Scott* case, Chief Justice Taney delivered himself at great length on the inferior position of the negro and on the lack of power in Congress to govern territories. In the same way, after he had delivered the opinion of the court that there had been no conspiracy to interfere with interstate commerce, which might have been stated in a few lines, Chief Justice Taft proceeded to describe how the miners "assaulted the union guards, took the guns away, and so injured several of the employes that four or five had to be sent to a hospital," and how they had finally captured the tippie and planted a flag there with the inscription, "This is a union man's country." Further than this, they had assaulted officers, taken prisoners from them, and put the prisoners to death.

#### CONFIRMED BY SUPREME COURT

Having disposed of this side of the case, the Chief Justice then turned to the legal liability of union organizations. This he found first in Sections 7 and 8 of the Sherman act, which makes "corporations and associations existing under or authorized" by law liable for damages. Not satisfied with this, he turned to "equitable procedure," and declared:

It would be unfortunate if an organization with as great power as this international union has in the raising of large funds and directing

the conduct of 400,000 members in carrying on, in a wide territory, industrial controversies and strikes, out of which so much unlawful injury to private rights is possible, could assemble its assets to be used therein free from liability for injuries by torts committed in course of such strikes. To remand persons injured to a suit against each of the 400,000 members to recover damages and to levy on his share of the strike fund would be to leave them remediless.

He then speaks of the "primary importance, in the working out of justice," of "protecting individuals and society from possibility of oppression and injury in their lawful rights from the existence of such powerful entities as trade unions" and concludes that the unions must be suable.

Though the court regretted that it could not find the United Mine Workers of America liable under the Sherman act, it declared that District No. 21 was liable, and remanded the case for a new trial.

With all due respect to the unanimous verdict of so august a body, the layman must be pardoned for making a few remarks, not to say criticisms, on the decision. The statement in regard to violence on the part of the miners does not seem to be much, if any, overdrawn. But, while we hear much of the culpability of Stewart, Slankard and others, we hear nothing about the violation of a contract by the coal company to use only union men, and little about the Burns detectives and the "reliable" guards whom the company had brought there.

In turning to "equitable procedure" as the legal basis for the suability of a union, the Chief Justice did not tell the public that this was taken over from the Taff-Vale decision rendered by an English court in 1901, and that Parliament at once changed the common law so as to make another such decision impossible. Neither did the Chief Justice, while telling the public of the sinister power possible in such large and wealthy organizations as trade unions, tell it of other sinister powers which have long been more than a possibility. He did not tell the public that the common law still allows the operators to rob it by arbitrarily advancing the price of coal at any time.

The court is given to citing precedents. On this the Chief Justice might have cited the advance of \$1 a ton on coal after the great strike of 1902, by which the opera-

tors are said to have netted a profit of \$300,000,000 in ten years, while giving the miners only 32 cents of the \$1 advance; that, at the end of the ten years, they made another advance of 25 cents, of which the miners got only 10 cents. Another precedent which the Chief Justice might have cited was the act of "generous patriotism" by which the operators agreed to reduce the price in 1917, when the war began, and thus surrender profits of \$150,000,000 a year, and he might have added that Secretary Baker denounced the new price as "exorbitant, unjust and oppressive." Still another precedent he might have cited is the charge of Senator Calder that the coal men, including middlemen and lessors, mulcted the American people of \$1,500,000,000 in 1920, and that a prominent operator, in denying this, admitted that the excess profits may have amounted to \$600,000,000. A particularly striking precedent he might have cited is the advance made by the operators after a strike some twelve years ago lasting all Summer in the very district of Arkansas where the Coronado case originated. My own recollection of this is very vivid, for my part of the new tax was \$18, enough to buy a decent overcoat in those days. Also, he might have reminded the public that the Bache-Denman Company based its claims for damages in part upon losses in profits amounting to \$1.10 per ton.

Just one other thing the Chief Justice might have told the public: that, while the law shields it from any "oppressive" action by the miners who began the great coal strike of 1922, it does not relieve it of a blanket liability to be taxed by the operators for the recovery of all losses plus some extra profits.

It is true that the court has not gone quite as far as Judge Elliott went in trying to establish the doctrine of the blanket liability of the unions, but the railroad brotherhoods must be wondering if it does not apply to them. The public also knows that long before this doctrine of blanket liability was brought out the Government took hold of the railroads and protected it against oppressive action by the unions. Still one other thing the public knows, that, while the trade unions may some time have been guilty of oppressive acts against which the law is henceforth to restrain

them, the operators and dealers are still a law unto themselves, as the facts recited above show. What it wants to know is why the sauce which is good for the goose is not also good for the gander. Also, it would like to know when this system of brigandage is going to be ended.

#### EDITORIAL NOTE

In direct action to the Supreme Court decision, the American Federation of Labor in convention at Cincinnati, on June 14 voted to appoint a committee to frame a policy looking toward the vetoing by Congress of Supreme Court decrees of this kind, which overrule Federal legislation on the ground of lack of constitutionality. This action was taken after the convention had heard and enthusiastically applauded an impassioned speech by Senator La Follette denouncing the Supreme Court in general, and Chief Justice Taft in particular, upon this ground.

On the other hand, Henry S. Drinker Jr. of Philadelphia, counsel for the Coronado Coal Company, on June 18 declared that the decision should take from Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, and from the unions generally, one of their main grounds of complaint against the court for what Mr. Gompers has characterized as their unfair attitude to labor, in special regard to the application of anti-strike injunctions. Speaking as the official representative of the Coronado Company, Mr. Drinker said:

"Now that labor unions are legally liable for damages which they cause, it would seem that the courts would be much less likely to grant injunctions, since after the commission of the act there is a ready and adequate remedy. A considerable part of Mr. Gompers's public utterances in recent years has been devoted to berating the courts for what he contends is their unfair attitude toward labor, his most prevalent charge being relative to the issuance of injunctions, which he contends would not have been issued if the defendants had been capitalists.

"While contending that labor unions were totally immune from suits for damages and their funds exempt from liability for injuries caused by their members, Mr. Gompers at the same time has maintained that there should be applied to

the unions the same rule as would be applicable if they were in fact legally responsible.

"Labor unions have become responsible under the law. Now when an employer comes into a Federal court applying for an injunction he can no longer contend that the defendants are legally irresponsible, since they can answer that they are a responsible body with adequate funds which, if the threatened damage occur, may be made to answer for it.

"In the case, therefore, of labor unions which are managed by officers who really intend to be law-abiding, this decision should be a benefit rather than a burden."

The unions also showed an inclination to look at both sides of the Coronado decision and to see some advantages on either side. The United Mine Workers' Journal, the official organ of the union coal miners, declared editorially on June 20:

"If a labor union can be sued, as was decided by the United States Supreme Court in the Coronado case, then it can also sue. If a labor union can sue, then there is no good reason why it should not utilize the law and the courts for the protection of itself and its members and its welfare against oppression, damage, or outrage. If the law and the courts afford a means by which union-busting employers may harass, torment and oppress unions and working people, then unions and working people should not hesitate to use the same weapons against that class of employers.

"Coal operators secure injunctions to prevent strikes. Labor unions could secure injunctions to prevent lockouts. Numerous coal companies have sued the union for heavy damages for things that happened during strikes. Unions could sue such employers for damages for things they do to their employes. Without any legal right whatever, some employers evict families of workmen from their homes and set them and their household goods out upon the roadside to be destroyed by rain and weather. Who will say that damage suits could not be filed against such employers under such circumstances?"

The union organ urged all its members to read the decision from start to finish, referring to it as "perhaps the most important and far-reaching decision ever rendered in a labor case by a court in this country."



# THE LAST OF THE URAL COSSACKS

By RHETA CHILDE DORR

Author of "Inside the Russian Revolution," "The  
Soldier's Mother in France," and other books

*The dramatic story of the exodus of the Ural Cossacks from their homes and of their flight from Bolshevik oppression—A nation of many thousands reduced to a few hundreds by incredible hardships*

IN the little Slovak town of Komarno, not far from where the Danube makes a sharp turn southward to Budapest, there is a group of strange and silent men who are earning a meagre living in the fisheries. They are not at all like the Slovaks or the Hungarians who make up the bulk of the population, and they are still less like the blue-eyed German-Austrians of the neighborhood. Swarthy of complexion, dark haired, they have still features and keen, observant eyes. They are rather short of stature, but their bodies are compact and muscled like leopards, and when they walk it is with the military stride of born soldiers.

If you could see them ride you would know them for absolute masters of horse, for these men are Cossacks, almost the last survivors of a large community which before the war comprised the freest, happiest and most contented people in all Russia. The last census taken gave the Ural Cossacks about 275,000 population, but the number was seriously lessened during the World War. The Bolsheviks accounted for a good many more, so it is impossible to know definitely how many they were when their complete eclipse began; perhaps 150,000.

In January, 1919, the most courageous and determined of the Ural Cossacks decided that exile was better than slow extinction under the Soviet and the Che-ka, and started a march out of their fertile plain for the safety of a fortress town on the eastern shore of the Caspian Sea. But the fortress, when they reached it, proved no permanent refuge and they moved on, through incredible adventures, to Persia, from there to India, to Mesopotamia, and from there, some to Vladivostok, and

some, a small group of about fifteen, to the fishing village in Slovakia. They started nearly 15,000 strong. They finished with 170 survivors. To find a parallel to that Odyssey you will have to turn to De Quincy's "Flight of a Tartar Tribe," and even then the Cossack narrative gains rather than loses in its fearful fascination.

Ivan Ivanovitch Klimov, late a Colonel in the Czar's Cossack army, now a fisherman on the Danube, told me the story through a long afternoon in a Prague coffee house. Maria Stepanovna interpreted. Maria Stepanovna is the daughter of a distinguished General who during the war commanded three divisions on the eastern front. Now he keeps accounts in a restaurant, and his daughter has a job in a bank. They would be quite happy if Maria Stepanovna's mother could have lived long enough to escape with them out of Russia, but she died of heart disease and horror in the Autumn of 1917.

## UNDER THE CZAR

Colonel Klimov prefaced his story with a brief account of the Ural Cossacks and their life in happy days. The various tribes of Cossacks, true Russians all, are designated by location. Thus the Don Cossacks live in the vast region watered by the River Don which empties into the Sea of Azov, while the Dnieper Cossacks are found farther west and south, where the Dnieper River winds to the Black Sea. The Ural Cossacks inhabited a great plain in Western Siberia immediately west of the Khirgiz Steppe. South of their plain lie the sullen waters of the Caspian Sea.

For centuries the Ural Cossacks fought the nomad Khirgiz, fought them so successfully that their raids into Russia were

halted at the Ural River, and for these great services to the struggling empire the early Romanoffs gave the Cossacks an extraordinary degree of freedom and preference. They had vast lands which they owned in common, together with fine forests, mines and fisheries. They had valuable private property in cattle, sheep, and splendid horses. They had few towns of size, almost no shops or bazaars, and no factories at all; and yet they were wealthy, for, being good farmers, they exported a great deal of grain, many cattle, horses, hides and wool fleeces. The caviar from the Ural was of superior quality, and was a source of large revenue. There was no poverty among the Ural Cossacks, for all except movable property was shared in common.

These Cossacks were self-governing. They had their own laws, their own penal code, their own officials, their own schools, their own system of taxation, in a word, complete autonomy. There was an Ataman appointed from Petersburg, but his rule was nominal, the real power residing in a commission of elders elected by universal man suffrage. In return for this autonomy the Cossacks of the Ural had to send every able-bodied male to the Czar's military service. Other Cossacks claimed certain exemptions; the Ural Cossack none. Every man was born a soldier; this was the first fact of his life, and he began to prepare for duty as soon as he could bestride a horse. When he was twenty-one years old he rode away with the men of his class for the required three years and eight months of service. After that, if the empire was at peace, he was free to return to the steppe to farm, raise cattle or follow a trade.

The Ural Cossack youths who reached twenty-one in 1911 did not go back to Siberia in 1914. Instead, the towns and the villages and the windy plains poured out thousands upon thousands of cavalymen until the peace-time quota of three Ural Cossack regiments — each numbering 12,000 men — was increased to nine. There was no time lost in mounting and equipping these regiments, for the Cossacks mount, equip, arm and officer themselves.

The Ural Cossacks began to fight the day after war was declared and they fought all through the war, until the revo-

lution and its succeeding chaos wiped the Russian Army out of history. Then they stopped, reluctantly, for the Bolshevik madness did not corrupt any Cossack brain.

"We accepted the revolution," said Colonel Klimov, "but without enthusiasm, because to us the Czar was more than our commander; he was like a kind father. However, since the thing was willed by the Russian people, or appeared to be, we were prepared to serve loyally under the Provisional Government. But soon a lot of strange officials appeared on the front, and the first thing they did was to try to break up the Cossack regiments and to distribute the men all through the army. This, of course, we would not suffer, for we lived and fought together like a tribe, a family. When the Bolsheviki came into power they tried to press us into the Red Army, but this we resisted. We held councils and voted not to support the Bolsheviki at all, but to return to the Urals, traveling eastward with the Don Cossacks, who also voted to return home.

#### THE FLIGHT FROM BOLSHEVISM

"The Bolshevik leaders refused to allow us to join our kinsmen of the Don, and they ordered us to abandon our arms before entraining. A Cossack abandon his arms! In the history of the world such a thing was never heard of. Two whole regiments got away with all their equipment, and the rest were very successful in concealing their arms. The arms were tied to the rods under the railway carriages, hidden under hay and blankets, worn under long coats, hidden everywhere. It is a good thing that we did this, for when our first trains reached the town of Voronezh we were stopped by armed Bolsheviki. So we left the train and took the town, and after it was quite all over we went forward on foot."

This was in December, 1917. Through the deep snow, against the bitter Winter weather, the regiments struggled until they approached the considerable town of Saratov on the Volga. There they had expected to rest and refresh themselves, and perhaps to get horses to replace those taken from them by the Bolsheviki. But they found the place in the possession of Red artillery, which, of course, being sim-

ple cavalry, they could not oppose. So they hastily requisitioned all the carts in the neighborhood, loaded them with their equipment, and with those men whose feet were badly frost bitten, made a detour around the town, crossed the frozen Volga, and got safely away.

In their home villages and communes the Cossacks took council and voted never to recognize the Communist Government which had been set up by armed force. They elected a Provisional Government of their own to serve until a properly elected constitutional assembly for all the Russias could convene. On this basis the tribe rested quietly through the Winter, expecting in the Spring to resume their farming. Many deputations of Bolsheviks visited them, urging the men to join the Red Army, demanding that they establish soviets, offering to trade with them on advantageous terms. Consistently these offers and demands were refused. The Ural Cossacks had always governed themselves, and they always would. The only other Communists they wished to join forces with were the Cossacks of the Don, now separated from them by Bolshevik territory. The Ural Cossacks had no wish or desire to fight the Bolsheviks. All they asked was to be left in peace.

#### WAR WITH THE REDS

But Bolsheviks never leave anybody in peace if they can help it, and when they began to be actually threatening, the Cossacks mobilized two regiments and disposed them in the south and west against the three strongest enemy positions in Astrakhan, Samara and Saratov. They had only two big guns and not very much heavy ammunition, and if the Red Army had attacked in force it might have gone hard with the Cossacks. But the Reds did not attack from the expected direction. Instead they came, a small force, from the north, into an undefended town, where they set up a soviet and began the usual routine of terror, pillage and arrest. The men of the town organized themselves, and one night, at the ringing of the church bell, they rose up and fell upon the intruders. They had no firearms of any kind, but with clubs and stones and knives they killed every single Bolshevik.

The war was now on. From Saratov,

some 450 versts westward, a great army of Red mercenaries, infantry, cavalry and artillery, advanced with speed. Retiring toward their largest town, Uralsk, the two Cossack regiments sent out a call for more men. Within a few days all the men up to the age of 60 were mobilized and galloping toward Uralsk. Some had no saddles, many were armed only with pikes, but all were fiercely resolved that the Bolsheviks should not get possession of their little motherland.

"Faith sustained us," said Colonel Klimov simply, "and as for those others they had no faith either to loose or bind them. So when they crossed our frontier, and saw those waves on waves of mounted Cossacks riding toward them from all the horizons, ready not for a defensive, but an offensive battle, a sort of a general panic seized them. They threw away their guns and fled like hares." He smiled a little.

"And when that was quite all over?" I asked.

"Well, we were very grateful to them for the rifles," was the reply. "But they didn't leave us any of their big guns, so we decided to go and get some. We were not far from the great Syzran ammunition works, and although they were surrounded by Bolshevik troops we thought the chances fairly good. Anyhow, good or bad, we had to have big guns."

With the help of a detachment of Czech Legionaries who joined them for a time, the Cossacks, in the next few months, took some miscellaneous towns away from the Bolsheviks, and killed and captured a good many thousand men. In fact, they cleared their entire territory of Reds. But the Czechs could not remain indefinitely, for they were on their way across Siberia to go to France to fight. Moreover, the captured Reds brought into the Cossack country the scourge of typhus, which made the most appalling inroads on their numbers. Still they held out through 1918 and most of 1919, the men fighting, the women farming and tending the sick and wounded.

"The women did everything except fight," said the Cossack. "They even carried food and ammunition up to the front lines."

Under an Ataman of their own choos-

ing, General Tolstov, they kept on fighting, always hoping to make a liaison with the Kolchak or the Denikin armies, but this they were never able to do. Finally typhus and hunger forced what Bolshevik arms were powerless to force—surrender. The Ural Cossacks decided to yield, not themselves, but their territory. Taking their horses, their arms and their household goods, they loaded their rude farm carts with necessities for the journey, and started southward for the Caspian. Not all could go. In every house was typhus, and these poor sick and dying begged to be left behind. The oldest men and women also stayed. "Go," they said. "You cannot save us, but you can save the tribe. It is your duty." So children left parents, wives left husbands, mothers left babes, in awful anguish of soul, to save the tribe.

#### THE EXODUS

They started in January, 1920. Had it been Summer they could have crossed the sea in ships, which they did not entirely lack, but in Winter the northern Caspian freezes fast. So they had to march. A more inhospitable country than that over which they marched hardly exists. It consists of vast wastes of salt marshes, into which, even in Winter, the cartwheels sank deep, and from which the horses could hardly drag their mired feet. There was nothing to eat for man or beast, not a wild bird, not a spear of marsh grass, not a living thing. There was nothing to burn save the wood they brought with them. There was not even any water except from the ice they carried with them and melted for their tea. Soon the food and the wood threatened to give out, and they began to burn their carts and eat their horses.

"But how could you spare carts and horses?" I asked.

The Cossack gave me a glance of surprise. "But, of course, there were fewer of us every day."

The objective of the caravan was Alexandrovsk, a fortress on the eastern shore of the Caspian, opposite the city of Petrovsk on the western shore. Denikin had been in Alexandrovsk and had left a few men, and there were besides a few Ural Cossacks who had crossed the Caspian in

the previous Summer. To get there overland proved an extremely difficult matter. Emerging from the salt marshes the travelers found themselves in a country infested with Khirgiz, from whom they were obliged to buy camels and supplies. This they did with difficulty, and moved on over rather better ground. It was still a bad country, sand and salt springs, and a range of high, barren mountains which they must cross. To add to their troubles, the Khirgiz began to follow and harass them. Fighting became an almost continuous performance, especially after they reached the mountains.

Nevertheless, they made the summit. "I don't know much about this period," said the Cossack Colonel, "because I was stricken with typhus then, and for a week or more I was conscious only occasionally. But I knew that we were in the midst of frightful weather, snow and storm, and that the drifts were so high that the camels could not march, so we had to camp in the full blast for three days. Every night women and children and the sick died of the cold. This was one of the worst moments. Still, the snow gave us water, without which we should all have died."

This was truly Russian, a universal habit of weighing blessings against evils, as if to absolve God from malice and uncharitableness.

All during the storm, when hundreds were perishing, the fierce Khirgiz hung on the edge of the camp, killing and plundering. There were not enough fighting men on their feet to guard the entire line, so the tribesmen had pretty much their will of the weaker Cossacks. They stripped the dead and dying and left their mutilated corpses in the snow, for when a Khirgiz wanted a man's boots or a woman's rings, he got them by the simple process of hacking off their legs and arms.

As soon as the storm abated the sadly diminished band hurried down the mountain passes toward Alexandrovsk. They might never have reached there had not the garrison received a radio message that they were on their way, and the soldiers went out with food and medical supplies to meet them. When they reached the fortress they were 6,000 fewer than when they left home. Of those who were left,



nearly all had frozen feet or hands, and many amputations were immediately necessary.

Every hospital bed was filled, and after that scores lay on the floor on straw. The help of the Denikin forces in Petrovsk was invoked, and as the Caspian was now open, two ships were sent over to relieve the hospital of invalids who had no beds. The Cossack soldiers sent word to the Denikin commander that if their families and their sick could be succored, they would join his army and fight their best to free Russia from the Bolsheviks. But this was in the Spring of 1920, and the Denikin army was already on the verge of dissolution. Nothing was done.

#### THE START FOR PERSIA

The army of the Ural Cossacks was now reduced to two ragged and ill-equipped regiments. Powerless by themselves, and despairing of any co-operation from Denikin, the Cossacks decided that the only thing for them to do was to leave Russia altogether. There were not many places they could go, but the nearest and safest seemed to be Enseli, a seaport of Persia. There were two small Denikin ships in the harbor, and these the Cossacks loaded with their household goods, their women and children and what small treasure they still clung to, and sent them out as the first consignment. But scarcely had they cleared when Bolshevik war vessels appeared on the horizon. Beating hastily back, the Denikin ships disembarked their passengers. Then, although armed only with a few small guns, the Denikin ships fought their way past the war vessels and got safely away. They never returned, nor do the Cossacks know to this day what became of their household goods and treasure.

Thus on an April day in 1920, the remnants of the Ural Cossack Russians, perhaps a thousand men and women and a few children, stood on the desolate Caspian shores denuded of practically everything they had ever possessed. Their country was gone, their flocks and herds and their magnificent horses were gone, most of their people were dead or mutilated or invalids, their movable goods were gone, and almost all their food. They had firearms and a few camels—that was all.

With the Bolsheviks so near at hand, they knew they could not remain where they were. Alexandrovsk is a strong fortress, but they were in no condition to defend it or to endure a siege. They had to move on, but where? Look at the map and see. Before them was the sea, behind them was a blazing, infertile desert swarming with hostile nomads. If they succeeded in crossing this infernal region, if they lived to reach the Persian frontier, they were safe. Bokhara was nearer, but Bokhara was then in the hands of the Bolsheviks. It was Persia or nothing.

"All of us could not go," the narrative went on. "In the first place the majority were too exhausted to endure more than a few days of that terrible desert. Besides, we had almost no provisions. The weak and tired ones had to stay behind, taking their chances on raising enough food to see them through until death or rescue came. Three hundred and fourteen of us resolved to make the venture, with our Ataman himself in command. In the next dawn we left."

At this point the head of Ivan Ivanovitch Klimov sank slowly to his breast, and for a few minutes he could not speak. I knew he was thinking of that dawn, of the departure of that camel train, watched in despair by their women and their kindred whom they would never see again. Each group knew that the other was in all human probability doomed to death. What held any of them to life? Why did they not all choose merciful extinction at the points of their own guns? Only blind instinct, the instinct to save the tribe.

Into the scorching desert rode the three hundred and fourteen Cossacks, twenty-four of their number being women and children. They were well armed, with plenty of cartridges. They had some food, but they were under almost immediate necessity of getting more. They needed more camels also and some carts. With what money they had they sought to buy what they needed in the first Khirgiz camps, but money is of small use to nomads, and these Khirgiz refused to sell.

"When that happens in war," explained the Colonel, "one is obliged to requisition. We knew that meant renewed fighting, and we had only about eighty men in fighting trim. However, there was nothing else to

do, so we took what we needed most, forcing our money on the Khirgiz. They left it on the sands, and flew for their guns. We now had one camel to a man, some sheep, and a few carts, and we got them all away with few losses.

#### SUFFERINGS ON THE STEPPE

"The steppe, which at first was not of the worst, soon became an almost waterless desert. Only occasionally did we strike a well, and then the water was warm and brackish. Still, it was better than the water we encountered later on. This contained some kind of salts, which made us fear that we had contracted cholera. However, it may be that it did us more good than harm." The Russian was again absolving the God of Wrath.

"The heat was so terrific that we ceased trying to travel by day. Besides, the night was safer, for naturally the Khirgiz pursued us ceaselessly. They were ill-armed, and were not very good marksmen, but there were so many of them—thousands. Beside them we were but a handful. But we withstood them and continued to advance. Traveling was difficult, especially as our wounded increased in number. We even carried with us for decent burial our dead, for we could not endure the thought of what otherwise would happen to their poor corpses.

"Things became almost too dreadful. The wounded on the swaying camels suffered cruel tortures. We had no medicines, no surgical gauze, no sanitary appliances of any kind. Swarms of flies and gnats hung over us, and added to the sufferings of the wounded. The food was almost gone, and we had no opportunity to make bread. All we could do was to stir up flour and water into a kind of soup, cooking it over grass fires and eating it, ashes and all as it was. I forgot to say that we made this flour by grinding up native grains between flat stones. It was ghastly stuff, but after all it was food."

There had been a question on my lips for some time and now it was forced from me. "But why didn't you all go mad and shoot each other?"

"We did not wish to die, and if you ask me why, I think it was our Ataman. He was a wonderful commander. He or-

dered us to keep our wits, to be of strong courage and to live it through. And we did. We knew that we had passed the worst dangers. We were coming to a sort of an uninhabited no-man's land, into which the Khirgiz dared not follow. On the other side of this neutral ground dwelt the Turkomenes, the deadly enemies of the Khirgiz, and with these tribesmen we had resolved to be on friendly terms. We would not requisition anything from them, but would pay for food and supplies with our camels. The last of the journey could be finished by the strong on foot, only the invalids using camels."

But before the Cossacks crossed this stretch of neutral ground they came near dying of thirst. For a whole week they were practically without water, and the camels had literally not a drop to drink. Then came a heaven-sent rain, copious for the desert, and they were saved. The first Turkomenes they encountered were friendly, too, and they bartered a camel or two for supplies. Their troubles seemed over, especially as the friendly tribesmen showed them the shortest way to the Persian frontier, and warned them of a stretch of railway they would have to cross, and which was occupied by Bolsheviks. They crossed the railway in the dead of night, and by morning came within easy reach of the frontier. Here, just within sight of safety, they were once more attacked by hostile tribesmen, this time well armed, and in overwhelming numbers.

"From three directions on that level plain their camels came on a run, the tribesmen yelling and firing. We could have wept, not because we were afraid—we were beyond that—but because we were so sick of blood and fighting. We didn't want to kill anybody again. But we had to fight, so fight we did, taking the offensive as usual. We knew that a few versts ahead was a little river beyond which was Persian ground. If we could reach the river, and get over it alive, we were all right. That put heart in us, and we fought as we never could have otherwise. We had losses, of course. Two of our women were wounded, one fatally. But still we pushed on toward that blessed river. And when we got there we found, not the shallow stream we expected, but a torrent

swollen by floods and quite unsafe to ford.

"The camels, always afraid of water, absolutely refused even to approach the water's edge, and we knew we could never force them to swim across. So some of us swam the river, requisitioned ropes, swam back, tied the ropes around the camels' necks, kicked and beat them into the water, and dragged them over.

"We hadn't trusted the lives of our women and our invalids to these terrified animals. We tied our water barrels together for a raft, put the helpless ones on that and towed it to the other side. It took us all day to do these things, because we had to stop every so often and fight the Turkomenes off. When they saw that we had actually got across, they went mad with rage. We could hear them yelling and cursing on the other side, we could even look back and see them in the moonlight dancing and waving their long guns in the air. Some of them rushed upstream looking for safer crossings. A few of them succeeded in getting across, and at midnight we turned on them for one last battle. It really wasn't much, a mere skirmish by comparison.

SAFE!

"Well," said the Cossack, "that's about all. In the early morning we reached the first Persian village and were safe. We had lost all track of time, and were astonished to learn that seventy-four days had elapsed since we left Alexandrovsk. We had lost forty-four, including half a dozen women. The survivors were in a desperate condition, unwashed, unshaven, feet a mass of bloody sores; ragged and filthy shreds of clothing made out of desert cloth tied on with cords. We looked more savage than the tribesmen.

"The Persian peasants were kind, and in four days a detachment of troops came and took us on to a larger town where we were met by some British officers.

They and a Russian officer who was with them gave us clothing, and within a few days took us to Teheran, where, for the first time in nearly eight months, we ate good food and slept in soft beds."

"It must have seemed like heaven, Ivan Ivanovitch."

"No, it didn't, for curiously we all fell ill, collapsed utterly, like men stricken with malaria.

"The question was what to do next. There was some talk that the British were going to join a drive against the Bolsheviks, and if they had, we should have enrolled with them. That would have been duty. But, instead, the British were ordered to Mesopotamia and they took us along. From there they were ordered to India, and we went, too, because there was nothing else to do. From India the British saw us through to Trieste, and from there most were sent to Vladivostok, though nobody wanted to go. But—nitchevó!" [Literally "nothing!"—the universal Russian expression of resignation to the inevitable.] "Europe was already overcrowded with homeless refugees."

"What happened to them after they reached Vladivostok?"

"We heard only that they were safe."

I hesitated before asking the next question. "And those left behind on the Caspian?"

Ivan Ivanovitch slowly shook his head. "No news."

"Nor of those left in the Ural?"

"Of them," said the Colonel softly, "can we ever expect to have news?"

The last of the Ural Cossacks stood up, clicked his military heels together, kissed our hands and walked away erect and self-controlled. We looked after him, and I quoted: "Liberty! What crimes—in thy name!"

"Nitchevó" murmured Maria Stepanovna.

# UKRAINIA'S RELATION TO RUSSIA

By Colonel A. M. NIKOLAIEFF

*The historical, linguistic and cultural arguments of the Nationalist Ukrainians favoring separation of the Ukraine from Russia attacked by a native Russian—His conclusion that Little Russia constitutes an integral part of his country*

**D**OES Ukrainia (now ruled as a Soviet Ukrainian republic under the control of Moscow), as her separatist leaders contend today, form, historically and otherwise, a separate national unity in relation to Great Russia, or is it, as other Ukrainian patriots and the Great Russians contend, an integral part of Russia—the status which it occupied, save for a comparatively short period, from the beginning of Russian history up to the outbreak of the Russian revolution? The question is an interesting one, in view of the general disintegration of the former Russian Empire, and especially in view of what, after reconstruction, the future Russia is destined to be. Let me first consider the historical argument.

In the early period of Russian history, from the ninth to the thirteenth century, the name "Ukraine" (from "U" and "Krai" meaning "at the border"—viz., the borderland) cannot be found in the annals. The first appearance of the name occurs much later. The reason is clear: The Ukraine in that early period was not a borderland, but was the very centre of the Russian State, with its capital in Kiev, "the mother of Russian cities." Unity of race, language, religion and culture of all parts of Russia during this period is an established fact.

Up to the thirteenth century the Russians, as all the people of Eastern Slavdom were then called (in alternation with "Ruthenians"), were successful in beating back the tribes of savage nomads who poured from Asia into the South Russian steppes. But in that century (1224-1241) the decisive Tartar invasion under Khan Batyi took place, and Russia was laid waste. The south of Russia, the future

Ukraine, suffered most. Kiev, Russia's centre of culture and richest city, was taken and burned. Soon after the invasion Kiev became a desert, and it remained in that state for two centuries.

One hundred years after the invasion the devastated territory became part of the powerful Lithuanian principality, which had pushed its boundaries into South Russia since its foundation in the thirteenth century. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries Russian emigrants to the west commenced to come back, and the repopulation of Kiev began. Moscow had arisen, and it was expected that Russia, under that city, would unite with the Lithuanian State. Instead of this, Lithuania fell under Polish sway through a dynastic marriage.

The real Ukraine at this time, which thus came under Polish control, was formed by the territory of the middle Dnieper, some 60,000 square miles in extent, with the City of Kiev in its north-western part. It was divided by the Dnieper, however, into two parts: The Ukraine of the left, and the Ukraine of the right bank of that river. The first broke away from Poland after a long and bloody struggle and united with Moscow (1654). The second part went from Poland to the Sultan of Turkey, was then divided between Poland and Turkey, and finally, in 1793, after the second partition of Poland, was united with its sister province under Moscow. Thus the Ukraine became again an organic part of Russia.

From the end of the eighteenth century till the Russian revolution the Ukraine lived a common life with Russia. No boundaries separated them. Ukrainia, or, as it was also called, Little Russia, was as much Russia as Northern, or Great Russia.



Throughout that period of more than a hundred years, certain provinces in the south of Russia lying in the so-called zone of "black earth" to the north of the Black Sea steppes were known as the Ukraine, much the same as certain States in the United States are known as New England. The area of these provinces was larger than the territory of the historic Ukraine, comprising such provinces as Volhynia and Podolia, which had previously stood apart.

If one looks at the map of Russia, as it is generally published today, however, one will see that the whole of South Russia from the Polish-Rumanian frontier in the west to the Don district in the east, and to the Black Sea and Sea of Azov in the south, with the exception of Crimea, is grouped under the name "Ukrainia." One would be led to presume that the Black Sea coast either formed part of Ukraine, or was conquered by her. Such a presumption, however, would be a grave error, inasmuch as the shores of the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov were conquered from Turkey in the eighteenth century by the efforts of the united Russian people (during the reign of Peter the Great and Catherine II.), and the conquered land, giving Russia access to the sea, for which the country had been struggling from the beginning of her written history, has formed a new part of the Russian Empire called New Russia.

#### THE "FREE UKRAINE" MOVEMENT

Maps showing Ukraine as a separate State of fantastic dimensions, including New Russia and other parts of the former empire, were published first during the World War and broadly circulated after the Russian revolution. It is known that during the war a strong propaganda for a "free" Ukraine was going on. That propaganda was part of the Central Empires' plan to win the war, and was started by them a long time before its outbreak—as early as the middle of the nineteenth century. Their object was to split Russia in two, cutting off her southern part in such a way as to weaken her power of resistance from a strategic point of view, and to make easy her economic exploitation.

With the beginning of the World War

this propaganda continued with the utmost energy and new inventiveness. Most favorable conditions were created for it by the Russian revolution. Soon after the revolution an autonomous Ukraine was proclaimed, but that autonomy, after the Bolshevik coup and during the German occupation, was changed into complete independence.

The proclamation was made by the Central Rada, a group of some hundreds from no one, and who voted as they were urged to vote by a dozen leaders. With regard to the latter, much material was gathered during the war by the Intelligence Service of the Stavka (Russian Armies' General Headquarters), pointing to their secret relations with the enemy—the German General Staff. The Central Rada did not reflect the wish of the population of the Ukraine, because the idea of the creation of an independent Ukrainian State was shared only by a minority of the Ukrainians. The nucleus of this group was, and still is, composed of a handful of "intellectuals," small merchants, manufacturers, and officials, to whom the prospect of transformation of the Ukraine into an independent State holds out advantages of power.

The majority of the Ukrainian people, the peasantry, have not even once expressed their wish for a separation from the Russian State. The peasant class in Ukraine and the peasants in the rest of Russia are united by economic ties, religion, similar civilization and historic community of interest. At certain moments during the civil war the Ukrainian peasants, it is true, joined the Separatists, but they did it because the Separatists were hiding their real intentions under a mask of demands for agrarian reform, and promised every peasant who would take a rifle and fight fifteen dessiatins of land. [One dessiatina equals 2.7 acres.] Afterward, when the land was taken by the peasants and was in their possession, they were assured by the Separatists that should Ukraine's independent existence end, and Russia's unity be re-established, the landholders would return and claim their land back.

Till the proclamation of Ukrainian independence the peasant little suspected that he was a Ukrainian, and were he asked



Map of the portion of southern Russia claimed by the Government of the Ukraine. The different boundaries are explained in key at right-hand corner

what he was he would answer "I am a Russian." He also knew that by the Great Russian he was called a "Khokhol"\* as he himself used to call his countryman from North Russia a "Katsap,"† much the same as in the United States a Southerner calls a New England man "Yankee." But neither the "Khokhol" nor the "Katsap" had any doubt as to their belonging to one race—the Russian. To cite a few instances: Gogol, the pride of Russian literature; Korolenko, the well-known Little Russian writer; Rodzianko, President of the former Russian Duma, were all "Khokhols."

#### THE LINGUISTIC ARGUMENT

The language spoken by the peasant population of the Ukraine differs somewhat, it is true, from that spoken by the

peasants in other parts of Russia. The chief difference between the Ukrainian or Little Russian, and the Great Russian, consists in the pronunciation and in a certain number of assimilated Polish words. The difference is easily explained by the influence of Poland, where in the thirteenth century, during the Tartar invasion, the Russian population from the Dnieper took refuge and where they remained for two centuries. The Little Russian language has existed for four or five centuries; during all that time science has considered it a dialect, and as such it was recognized by the Academy of Sciences in the '80s of the last century.

On Feb. 20, 1906, however, the section of Russian Language and Literature of the Imperial Academy of Science acknowledged the Little Russian dialect to be a language. This decision was carried by a majority of only 1 vote out of 5. Considering that this decision was taken in the days of the first Russian revolution, it is more likely that it reflected the political

\*Literally "top-knot," in reference to an old South Russian custom of shaving the head with the exception of a single tuft.

†Perhaps from "Tsapat," to snap, grasp, in allusion to the quickness of the Greek Russian, in contrast to the slow ways and movements of the Little Russians.

protest against the illiberal attitude of the Imperial Government toward the rights of the local dialects more than from any scientific reasons.

No one can deny that this language has all the characteristics of a dialect; it is spoken only by peasants, its literature consists only of comedies, fairy tales and poetry, all inspired and colored by the peasant life of the region; it has no terms for expressing the ideas of modern life, and has not developed a scientific terminology. With the object of having a language as different as possible from Russian, the Separatists sought to create an artificial language, spoken by nobody, founded on the basis of the Little Russian dialect; phonetic orthography was introduced, some letters of the Russian alphabet were abolished, two were added; serviceable Russian words were cast out, new words were invented, and as many foreign words as possible—notably Polish and German—were adopted. The new language was called “the Ukrainian language.” The adoption of that language for official correspondence in Ukraina has produced extreme discontent, because by the cultured people it can be understood only with difficulty, and by the peasants it cannot be understood at all.

More than four years have elapsed since the proclamation of an independent Ukraine. The Ukraine, however, under

the name of the Soviet Ukrainian Republic, is living a common life with the Soviet Russian Republic, and if not in name yet in fact forms an integral part of the latter. It would not be right to explain this as the result of Bolshevik conquest, because it is impossible to believe that a country with a population of 40,000,000 (according to the figures given by the Separatists themselves) could have been deprived of its independence with such ease. On the other hand, we see that countries like the Baltic States, which formerly were parts of the Russian Empire, and which are much smaller than the Ukraine, were not conquered by the Bolsheviks and continue to exist independently from Soviet Russia. It cannot also be said that Ukraina did not part with Great Russia on account of her sympathy to the latter's government, toward which, according to Lloyd George, who called the representatives of that Government “men of extreme ability,” 95 per cent. of the population are indifferent or hostile. Such being the fact, it becomes evident that the Ukraine lives a common life, full of misery though it is, with the rest of Russia, *in spite* of the misrule and terrible experiments of their common Soviet Government, because the people of the two countries realize that they are one people, and because the idea of separation could neither be conceived nor approved by them.

#### HARVARD SCHOLARSHIPS FOR ARGENTINA AND MEXICO

THE associated Harvard Clubs have founded two scholarships on the plan of the Rhodes scholarships at Oxford, one for the Argentine Republic and the other for the Republic of Mexico. A special interest attaches to the Mexican scholarship. The project originated in the Harvard Club of Mexico City, and was carried through largely by the initiative of one of its members associated with the mission of Finance Minister de la Huerta in the United States.

It was at first intended to limit the Mexican scholarship to young Mexicans of pure Indian descent, among whom, presumably, the intelligence and artistic sensibility that created Aztec civilization still

persists; but the wiser plan prevailed of requiring only that the candidates for scholarship be native Mexicans, born of native parents, whether of pure Indian or of the composite Spanish-Indian stock which predominates in Mexico today. Such intellectual contacts made for understanding and mutual sympathy between nations, in the case of the Foundation Universitaire and its sister organization, both organized from the Hoover relief fund in Belgium, under which Belgian and American students reciprocally drink from the source of the other nation's culture. A happy feature of the Harvard plan is its possibility of indefinite extension until it embraces all Latin America.

# POLAND'S RULE IN EAST GALICIA

By THE POLISH BUREAU OF INFORMATION

To the Editor of Current History:

IN the June issue of CURRENT HISTORY there appeared a letter from Mr. Michael Bakowski entitled "The Ukraine's Grievance in East Galicia." In that letter was embodied a petition emanating from the "Ukrainian Citizens' Club" and sent "To the General Secretariat, International Economic Conference, Genoa, Italy." This petition contained a categorical list of grievances arrayed by this group against Poland on the ground of her administration of Eastern Galicia, the former Austrian territory which has been incorporated with Poland since the conclusion of the World War.

The publication of this petition was noted by us with satisfaction. The true character of the agitation of a certain political group in the United States, claiming to speak in the name of a Ukrainian nation, and aimed against Poland, could hardly be more convincingly shown than by such a collection of ungrounded charges, concluding with a plea for the return to office of a certain Eastern Galician politician. If this group confined its activities to parades, picketing and threats against legations and consulates its case would be stronger, for the issue would still be left confused in the public mind. We feel therefore that Mr. Bakowski and his fellow members of the Ukrainian Citizens' Club did Poland an involuntary service when they drafted and published the so called petition above referred to.

For the sake of clarity in our reply we quote the specific charge made by the petition, and then follow it by our official exposition of the facts:

*Petition*—The international conference in Genoa, which has been convoked for the purpose of planning the economic readjustment of Europe, will, no doubt, include the economic rehabilitation of East Galicia in its deliberations, because this country is unquestionably one of the most devastated regions in Europe.

*Answer*—The worst part of the devastation occurred during the reign of terror

between November, 1918, when the Austrian and German military leaders handed over the administration, together with arms, and so forth, to the Ukrainians, and midsummer, 1919, when the world realized that something had to be done to deliver that country from the horrors of Ukrainian "administration."

*Petition*—East Galicia was the scene of uninterrupted warfare throughout the entire period of the World War, from 1914 to 1918, and then again from 1918 to 1919, during the Ukrainian-Polish war, when Poland invaded the Galician Republic, which had arisen after the collapse of Austria-Hungary.

*Answer*—Not many days after the "rise" of the "Galician Republic," which was mentioned above, the City of Lwow [Lemberg] revolted spontaneously against the Ukrainian tyrants. The revolt began with small boys and spread to the entire population. The fighting which resulted in driving out the armed Ukrainians by the population which had had no arms, but which took them from the Ukrainians, was described fully at that period by The London Times and The New York Times, which praised the heroism of the Polish population of Lwow. The Ukrainians then proceeded to besiege Lwow in the most barbarous fashion, but did not succeed. Their reign of terror in the whole country was characterized in The Outlook, May 28, 1919, by Professor Vernon Kellogg, an eyewitness, in part as follows:

\* \* \* Lemberg is in its especially terrible condition because it has been besieged by the Ruthenian bands, officered by Germans and Austrians, for two months. Shells were falling in the city when the food train arrived. \* \* \* The wounded among the soldiers, university students and women who composed the defending forces of the city crowd the hospitals, where their needs of medicines and special food cannot be met. \* \* \*

It (the Polish Coalition Government) has gained the formal recognition of the Allies, and this means help, in some measure, as regards money, food and munitions and clothes for the little Polish army fighting on the eastern frontier against Russian Bolshevik murderers



and Ruthenian pillagers, and on the western frontier against Germans, who can pillage as effectively as Ruthenians and murder as terribly as Bolsheviks.

*Petition*—This occupation not only has not ameliorated the economic condition of East Galicia, but, on the contrary, has driven the country to utter economic ruin.

*Answer*—As soon as Eastern Galicia was freed from the Ukrainian hordes the reconstruction of the country began, only to be interrupted by another invasion (Bolshevik) in the Summer of 1920, which was very strongly felt by the entire population, but to which, characteristically enough, the Ukrainian petition contains no reference whatever. It must be admitted, indeed, that the horrors of the Bolshevik invasion of 1920 were as nothing compared with the horrors of the Ukrainian invasion, November, 1918, to midsummer, 1919. However, a few figures will show what Poland has done:

Of the 1,040,000 acres of tillable land in Eastern Galicia, over 40 per cent., or 435,000 acres, was idle in 1919, when the Polish Administration of the region was undertaken. Toward the end of Winter, 1922, on the other hand, only 72,000 acres remained uncultivated. In 1910 there were in Eastern Galicia 697,015 horses; in 1919, 425,701 horses, and in December, 1921, 520,162 horses. In other words, whereas there had been a 38 per cent. reduction in the number of horses during the war, the number has increased by 22 per cent. since 1919.

In 1910 there were 1,610,282 cattle; in 1919, 1,031,142 cattle, and in December, 1921, 1,238,173 cattle. This represents a 36 per cent. drop during the war, and a 10 per cent. increase since 1919.

In 1910 there were 1,352,292 swine; in 1919, 312,823, and in December, 1921, 415,830. This represents a 77 per cent. decrease during the war, and a 34 per cent. increase since 1919.

The destruction of farm buildings from 1914 to 1919 amounted to 428,203, which number was still further increased during the Bolshevik invasion of 1920, when 2,411 buildings were destroyed. Up to December, 1921, there had been rebuilt a total of 163,490 farm and village buildings.

The magnificent success of the Eastern Fair in Lwow in 1921, reported at length

in various British and American papers, and the reports of eyewitnesses who have recently returned, give the lie to the allegation that the eastern part of Galicia has been driven "to utter economic ruin."

*Petition*—In East Galicia extraordinary martial laws are still in force whereby Polish domination is preserved and the country ruined, because, for political reasons, the local Ukrainian population and Ukrainian economic organizations are barred from participation in trade and commerce, and are hindered in every conceivable way in the work of restoring the country. The economic institutions of East Galicia, as well as the political and educational, have been suppressed by the Polish authorities, and individual prominent co-operators, tradesmen and engineers are in jails or other places of confinement, and are removed from all fields of activity. In order to coerce the population to recognize East Galicia as an integral part of Poland, heavy fines are placed upon the Ukrainian Nationalists, and cattle and grain are taken from the Ukrainian peasants without any remuneration. These extortionate measures are enforced even against peasants who merely dared to state in the census form that, in accordance with Article 91 of the Treaty of Saint Germain, the sovereign of East Galicia is the Entente and did not write "Poland."

*Answer*—The Ukrainian petition confuses the economic development of Eastern Galicia generally with the progress of Ukrainian economic organizations. Ever since the fourteenth century the Poles have been leaders in the development of the economic life of Eastern Galicia, and even before then the native Ruthenian population, as distinguished from Poles, played no real part in this development. The Ruthenian population has consisted, until very recently, of peasants, and it is only within the last few decades that attempts have been made to develop Ruthenian trade and commerce. This development not only does not meet with any objections on the part of the Poles, but has been stimulated since Poland took over the administration of the country, although the Ukrainians who form one part of the Ruthenian population had done much to destroy the economic resources of the country. There are no exceptional measures except in such districts as are subjected to the radical propaganda of incoming Bolshevik and Ukrainian agitators.

As a matter of fact, the total number of commercial firms in Eastern Galicia has increased by one-third, as compared with

conditions before the war. The Ruthenians themselves have some 812 co-operatives, as compared with a total of 3,463 for the whole of Eastern Galicia, and many other economic organizations, the total number of which is about four times larger than before the war. There has been no suppression whatever of law-abiding political and educational institutions.

Out of a total of 3,910 elementary schools maintained by the Polish State, 2,510 have Ruthenian as the language of instruction. Out of a total of 89, there are 14 State secondary schools with Ruthenian as the language of instruction, which number is greater by four than it was before the war. The Polish Government places no limit to private schools with Ruthenian as the language of instruction. The Polish State has in principle agreed to the creation of a Ukrainian university to be maintained by the Polish State, and the only difficulty is that as yet no city has agreed to harbor such a university. In particular, the city of Lwow, which the Ukrainians want to be the seat, has gone on record repeatedly and most emphatically as opposed to the establishment of such a university in Lwow.

In most cases, Ruthenian officials have been retained or reinstated. There are now 288 Ruthenian Judges and 404 Ruthenian administrative officials. Judges are appointed and maintained entirely by the State. Only nine Ruthenian Judges and 28 other Ruthenian officials have been refused reinstatement after the Poles took over the Government, owing to their having committed crimes or violated the ethics and dignity of their office. In many cases such reinstatement took place, although objected to even by the local Ruthenian population on the ground that the officials in question had exerted themselves too energetically during the Ukrainian Republic's régime to the detriment of the local population. When Poland recently conducted a detailed survey of war damages, limiting it to damages suffered by Polish citizens, practically the whole Ruthenian population, including important leaders, did not hesitate to take advantage of this survey, which shows that they did not consider themselves alien to Polish rule.

*Petition*—The Polish Diet in Warsaw on Dec. 16, 1921, levied an extraordinary contribution of 20,000,000,000 Polish marks on the ruined country of East Galicia. This heavy tax Poland is now mercilessly collecting with the aid of her military forces. She is despoiling the population, which is unable to pay this huge sum, of the last remnants of its material possessions.

Having no right at all to levy a contribution on East Galicia, which remains under the sovereignty of the Entente Powers, Poland is doing this deliberately and with the sole purpose of bringing the country to complete economic ruin.

*Answer*—The Polish Diet has not levied any special extraordinary contribution on East Galicia, neither has the Polish Diet determined the sum of such a levy. The contribution voted in Warsaw on Dec. 16 related to the whole of Poland, and was to be paid by farmers, industrialists, commercial men, and so forth, in ratio to the financial standing of each individual. The same law relates to the whole of Poland. Its main purpose is to collect what will practically offset the arrears of taxes. For several years no taxes had been paid by a large part of the population of Poland, including Eastern Galicia. The extraordinary contribution, which was one of the first steps of Finance Minister Michalski, himself Director of an important bank in Lwow (Eastern Galicia), has met with approval on the part of financial authorities of the world. There would be no reason for not levying taxes in Eastern Galicia, where, after all, the Polish State has to pay for the upkeep of railroads, schools, courts and other offices.

*Petition*—The work of reconstruction in East Galicia can start only when the Polish military occupation of the country has been terminated and when the rule of the country has been returned to the lawful Government of the Independent Galician Republic under the head of Dr. Eugene Petrushevitch. Only then will there be peace and order in East Galicia and the opportunity to develop and exploit the immense natural resources of the country for the economic reconstruction of East Galicia and neighboring countries.

*Answer*—The Polish Government has, as explained above, spent vast sums in aiding agriculture and industry. Since taking over the administration of Eastern Galicia's railroads the Polish Government has expended large sums of money. Many of these expenditures have been necessary in order to restore bridges, buildings, &c., wantonly destroyed by the hordes which

serve as the army of the Government headed by Dr. Petrushevitch.

That the petition referred to was presented in the interests of a small group of individuals, or clique, is further borne out in the final sentence of the document, which again brings in the name of an individual, the petitioners requesting "that the conference (Genoa) take all possible steps to have the Supreme Council of the Peace Conference expedite the termination of the provisional military occupation of Eastern Galicia, and to have the rule of the country returned to the constituted Government under the head of Petrushevitch."

In view of the stress laid upon the "constituted Government" it may be of interest to review briefly the history of Eastern Galicia and trace the source of this "Ukrainian Government."

The country now known as Eastern Galicia is a slice of a part of Poland detached in an arbitrary fashion for the benefit of Austria in the partitions of Poland of 1772 and 1795. Austria gave the name of Galicia to the whole territory stretching from Cracow and Lublin to the river Zbrucz in order to give color to her claims that the Hapsburgs were entitled to rule the country as kings of Hungary, because in the thirteenth century a Hungarian ruler had for a few years been in possession of the principality of Halicz (Galicia), in the eastern part of the territory. At the time of the partitions, and later during the Congress of Vienna, 1815, it was generally recognized that the whole country was absolutely Polish, even though some of its natives spoke a dialect which represented a mixture of Polish and of the South Russian dialect.

The Austrians, about the middle of the nineteenth century, afraid of Polish attempts to regain independence, tried to stir up the population in a way that would bring about fratricidal struggles. Another purpose of this "discovering of Ruthenians" was to detach further territories from Russia. Russia retaliated by trying to create a Russophile movement in Eastern Galicia. Part of the population in

the eastern part began to look toward Russia, considering themselves Ruthenians, in contrast with Poles. Then the Austrians, about 1880, afraid of losing the territory to Russia, tried to divert this new Ruthenian movement into other channels by fostering a new national feeling which, for want of a better name, and in order to make the distinction from Russia, was christened the Ukrainian movement.

The Austrians, by favoring the Ukrainian Party, by putting in prison its opponents and subsidizing the pro-Austrian and pro-German leaders, succeeded in working up a certain amount of political turmoil. Shortly before the war documents were published proving German subsidies for the movement. During the war the Germans helped the Ukrainians, with a view to establishing a German-ruled Russian State.

At the head of the movement was, at the end of the war, one of the Austrian Archdukes, who still maintains his connection with it. At the downfall of the Austrian Empire the Austrians delivered the Government of Eastern Galicia to the Ukrainians, whose army they officered. The few months of Ukrainian rule in Eastern Galicia are recalled by the population with bitterest feelings.

In fact, Eastern Galicia was in a state of anarchy when Poland took over its administration. The region was epidemic-ridden, bandits flourished everywhere, and there remained little respect for authority. The "Ukrainian Government" of Petrushevitch, which on the day of Austria's downfall had been established with the aid of German and Austrian officials, purposely indulged in and incited lawlessness, murder and plunder, especially when directed against the Poles. Such a state of terror existed during this "Government's" existence from November, 1918, to July, 1919, that it was with evident relief that the bulk of the terrified population, Polish, Ruthenian and Jewish, hailed the incoming Polish Army as symbolizing law and order.

*Polish Bureau of Information, C. A. Randau, New York, June 25, 1922.*





Some of the men who have helped to shape the destinies of the Turkish Government at Angora. Left to right: (1) Rauf Bey, late Minister of Public Works. (2) Hassan Tahsin Bey, Minister of Finance. (3) Fethy Bey, Minister of the Interior

## MUSTAPHA KEMAL AND



Scene in Angora early on a Friday morning in the Street of the Black Boy, the main thoroughfare of the Nationalist capital.

This is the second of a series of four articles on the Turkish Nationalist Government at Angora, written by an American who spent two months in the interior and had unprecedented facilities for observing what the rebel rulers of Turkey are doing. Both his materials and his illustrations are entirely new.—EDITOR.

ANGORA lies tilted up on its hill, a snowy blanket of flat roofs pierced with minarets and green cypresses and scarred across its middle with the ruins of 1915. At its foot lie its requisitioned Government buildings and its railroad station. Everywhere in its streets, from the latticed labyrinth at the top of the town to the great icy marsh at its foot, lie its dogs. Once they were sheep dogs on the hills along the Sakaria, so fierce that no stranger dared approach them. Their flocks disappeared with the Greeks last September, their shepherds have been taken by the army, and the dogs, wolfish-gray brutes with black noses, are left to haunt the streets of Angora.

Three miles away on a neighboring hill, secure above the Summer malaria of the marshes, is the villa of Mustapha Kemal, whose brain has lifted this obscure pro-





(4) Dr. Adnan Bey, Speaker of National Assembly and husband of Lance-Corporal Halide Edib Hanum, the Turkish novelist. (Photo by Vakit, Constantinople.) (5) Fevzi Pasha, Chief of the General Staff. (6) Ismet Pasha, Commander in Chief on the Smyrna front

## THE ANGORA GOVERNMENT

By CLAIR PRICE

vincial capital, this mud town of muezzins and machine guns, into world importance. The time has passed when his "government" at Angora must drop its archives into its kalpak (Astrakhan cap) and flee on horseback. Mustapha Kemal no longer lives in an upstairs room at the Angora railroad station, with a Decauville train waiting in the yards to hurry him eastward on an instant's warning. He was the first to see the fate which loomed above Asia Minor three years ago, and he has bludgeoned and beaten Asia Minor into readiness to resist it. Some day, when the peace with England has been signed and the war is ended, there will doubtless be plenty of time for him to consider whether the end justifies the means, but thus far he has been occupied with considerations of a less academic nature.

What cards does Kemal hold in his hand today? In the first place, he holds Asia Minor, from the great tableland of Transcaucasia to the Eski-Shehr-Afiun-Karahissar line, where, at the time this article was written, the Greeks were still dug in. It was easy enough for Mustapha

*How the Turkish Nationalist leader drove the forces of the Sultan's Grand Vizier out of Asia Minor, established the Angora Government, defied the Allies, and waged war on the Greeks —Personnel of insurgent Government*

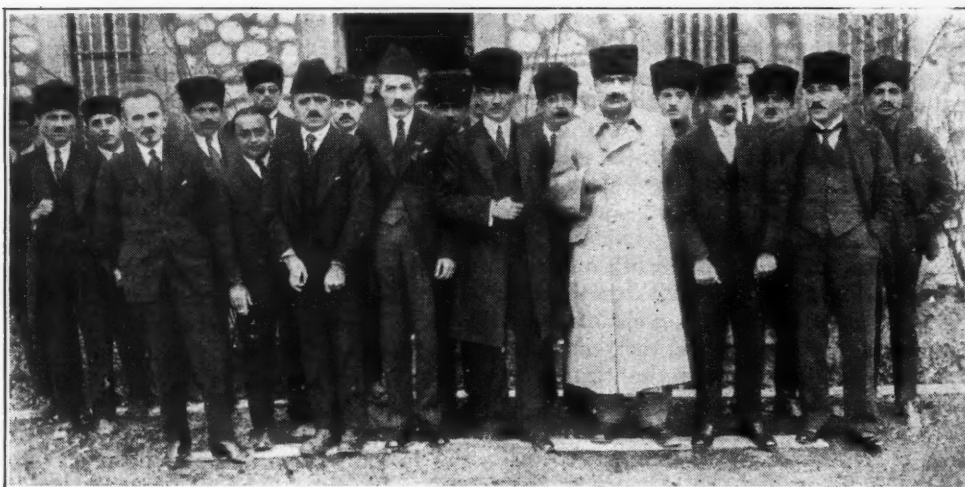
Kemal, under the spur of the Greek occupation of Smyrna, to oust the officials of Damad Ferid Pasha, the Sultan's Grand Vizier, from one province after another of Asia Minor. To hold the area against Ferid and his Liberal Entente Party in Constantinople, the Nationalist leader stippled the country with so-called "military courts of independence," which stamped out every possibility of counter-revolution by promptly hanging all Ottoman subjects, whether Turkish, Greek or Armenian, who were convicted of anti-Nationalism. He defeated Ferid's "Caliphate army" in the

Summer of 1920 by convincing the peasantry of Asia Minor that the Caliphate army was composed of Greeks and Armenians. Ferid then turned his attention to Konia, whose dervish centres had always been a Liberal Entente stronghold, and which had an especial attachment to the Caliphate through ancient custom—it was the Tchelebi of the Mevlevi dervishes who girded each Caliph with the Sword of Mohammed forty days after his accession to the Ottoman throne. Proud Konia, which lay dreaming of its once powerful Seljukian Empire, was recovered by Ferid in the Delibash revolution of October, 1920, but the Delibash régime was a short-lived one. Kemal's War Minister, Rafet Pasha, a little bundle of nerves with black eyes and a quick, charming smile, hurried 2,000 men to Ala-ed-Din hill, in the outskirts of Konia, drove out Delibash's men in three days of fighting and reinstated the Nationalist administration. Ferid's agents continued, however, to move back and forth along the coasts of Asia Minor with their eyes on Konia, but Nationalist officers boarded the British steamer *Palatina* at Adalia last Summer, discovered Topal Osman and four confederates hidden in a cargo hold, and shot them down. That incident ended the Liberal Entente Party's effort to return to Asia Minor. Ghalib Pasha, an old, white-haired Albanian, who was Turkish military commander in the Hedjaz during the World War, is now the Nationalist Military Governor of Konia, and the Tchelebi of the Mevlevi dervishes is one of Konia's eight Deputies in the Grand National Assembly at Angora. To-day a small framed motto, done in Arabic characters of white on a blue ground, hangs on the wall above the Speaker's desk in the Assembly Chamber—a quotation from the Koran such as may be found in thousands of devout Moslem homes—"Let us meet together in council and discuss," a symbol of Kemal's success in carrying the conservative Turkish peasantry back of the Sultan-Caliph in Constantinople to the Koran itself, and in wrenching Asia Minor away from the Sultan's Grand Vizier, while refraining from any violation of its allegiance to the Ottoman dynasty and the Ottoman Caliphate.

In the second place, Kemal holds the still incomplete but slowly maturing Pan-

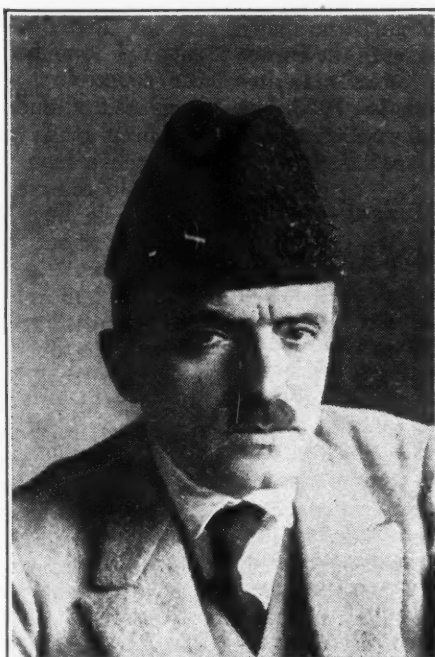
Turanian project. It will be remembered that when the British captured Bagdad in 1917, Germany's eastern highway swung to the north, the old Berlin-to-Bagdad scheme gave way to the new Berlin-Baku-Bokhara scheme, and Transcaucasia was made over from Russia to Turkey amid the rattling sabres of Brest-Litovsk. The collapse of the Central Powers followed in 1918. Enver Pasha fled from Constantinople to Daghestan in Northern Transcaucasia, and the British rolled across the Constantinople-Baku-Bokhara line. It was then that Mustapha Kemal rose up in Asia Minor to announce that the East would settle its own destinies in future without the assistance of either the Germans or the British. This seemed a rather futile announcement at the time, for Kemal himself was standing inside a ring of British and allied bayonets. The British in Kurdistan were reaching for Diarbekr the key to Mosul and the rich Hasheeta valley, the source of Mosul's oil. The French in Cilicia were reaching after the great Arghana copper mines. The Greeks in Smyrna were driving into the hinterland, and in Kemal's rear the Pontus Greeks were clamoring for a Pontus Republic and the Erivan Armenians were clamoring for their Wilson Frontier, either of which would have isolated Kemal from the Moslem East. The Ottoman Empire was lost; its army largely demobilized and disarmed and its navy interned; Asia Minor was blockaded on the north, south, east and west, and a number of secret treaties, which had been drawn up during the great war to partition this area among the allied powers, were awaiting application.

In time, however, the blockade began to crumble of its own weight, and, while continuing to hold the Pontus with such irregulars as he had, Kemal succeeded in the Turco-Armenian War of November, 1920, in opening a back door past Erivan to the east in case retreat became necessary. Already he had concluded treaties with the Moslem States of Azerbaijan and Afghanistan. The black and white flag still floats over the Afghan "Embassy" in the street of the Hajji Bairam at Angora, and out in the suburbs of the town the Crescent and Star with the crossed hammer and scythe of Communism inside the star still



Angora's diplomatic corps at the raising of the Azerbaijan flag over the Azerbaijan "Embassy" on Nov. 24, 1921. Left to right: (front row) Comrade Mihailoff, Russian Chargé d'Affaires; (second row) Rafik Shevket Bey, Minister of Justice; (front row) Signor Tuoizzi, Italian delegate at Angora; (third row, with dark glasses), Djelal Bey, former Minister of Economics, now in charge of Economics Section of Foreign Office; (front row) Yussuf Kemal Bey, Foreign Minister; (second row) Hassan Tahsin Bey, Minister of Finance; (front row) Ibrahim Abiloff Bey, Azerbaijan "Ambassador"; (second row) Hamdullah Soubhy Bey, former Minister of Education; (front row) Mustapha Kemal Pasha, President of the Government of the Grand National Assembly; (front row) Fevzi Pasha, Chief of General Staff; (front row) Sultan Ahmad, Afghan "Ambassador"; (front row) Fethy Bey, Minister of the Interior

floats over the Azerbaijan "Embassy." They are reminders today of Baku and Kabul, the line of retreat which Kemal had provided for himself in case of need. They are more than that. Today Kemal has laid aside the Turkish fez for the Transcaspian kalpak, Enver Pasha is still far away in the back country between Tashkent and Kabul, and Pan-Turanianism is maturing toward the day when Turkey will be able to confront Russia with the old British alliance which Abdul Hamid lost in 1907. The Ottoman Empire is dead. Turkey is becoming the western



YUSSUF KEMAL BEY  
Foreign Minister of the Angora Government

flank of a closely bound group of States which stretches from Constantinople to Kabul, a group of grave and elderly Moslem States fired by the heady wine of nationalism. And below Kabul lies the Khyber Pass.

In the third place, Kemal holds the Franco-Turkish peace treaty of Oct. 20, 1921. It must be remembered that the secret Sykes-Picot agreement of 1916 awarded the Mosul province of Mesopotamia to France and not to the British, who now hold it; that French Syria extends to the Mosul frontier, and that the Bagdad Railway is operated



from Mersina east by the French. At the same time, a Turkish Deputy for Mosul is sitting in the Grand National Assembly at Angora. Djevdad Pasha was dispatched from Angora last January to Diarbekr, a powerful military position which dominates the Mosul province, as Governor and military commander of the "southeast front." The Sheik of the Senussi, the most powerful order in Islam, has been at Diarbekr for the last year, and is presumably not disinterested in the affairs of Mosul and the remainder of Mesopotamia. Should the British in Mesopotamia ultimately withdraw to the Basra province before this Franco-Turkish claim on Mosul, there will remain no such bulwark in front of India as was afforded up to 1918 by the British sphere of influence in Southern Persia. And the Orient Express no longer runs to Constantinople from Berlin, but from Paris.

I believe, however, that the French agreement of last October is intended as a tactical measure to recover the understanding with England which Abdul Hamid lost with such disastrous effect in 1907, and that once the old alliance with England is recovered, the future Turkey will be ready to discuss Pan-Turanianism with the future Russia. The treaty which Kemal's mission signed at Moscow on March 16, 1920, has already given complete and explicit recognition to the Turkish National Pact.

#### MEN, MONEY AND MUNITIONS

All this, however, has to do with matters of external policy. What is Kemal doing in Asia Minor? He is holding it under a rigorous military dictatorship, and squeezing out of its impoverished and decimated villages a little more of that stubborn strength of which it seems to have an inexhaustible supply. In this task, he has had neither the men, the money nor the munitions he needs.

Some of his best men, of whom he stood in dire need, had been interned by the British on Malta. Turkish Army officers, on leave with pay from the Ottoman War Office in Constantinople, have filtered into Angora in abundance, but of civilian brains there has been and still is a desperate scarcity. A handful of men have been kidnapped from peace missions sent out by

the official Ottoman Government in Constantinople; Yussuf Kemal Bey, the present Foreign Minister, is one of these. But even today, when Kemal feels increasingly his lack of experienced civilian administrators, there are thousands of Turks who prefer the fleshpots of Constantinople to the rigors of Asia Minor.

Kemal has had to contend with similar scarcity in money. Freed of the capitulations, he has levied fresh taxation on Ottoman subjects and on some foreigners, he has increased his customs tariff five times over, he has added a 40 per cent. requisition tax, but he still falls far short of realizing his budget estimates. The Deputies in the Assembly are being paid out of the proceeds of the Evkaf, or Moslem religious endowments, in their constituencies, but Kemal's soldiers are getting nothing, and many of his minor officials rarely see a pay day. Still he has not resorted to the issuance of new paper money, confining himself to the use of the paper issued at Constantinople during the war; as rapidly as this is worn out it is sent to the Ottoman Public Debt offices in Constantinople to be exchanged for clean paper. He has floated no internal loan, and if any external loan has been secured in return for concessions or otherwise, it has not been secured under any treaty annex which has been made public. Kemal's security for such a loan, if any has been secured, is a gold reserve which, according to Hassan Tahsin Bey, Minister of Finance, consists of about £T.1,000,000 in Turkish "and other" gold coins, and about 200 kilos of bar gold. Hard hit by taxation and already impoverished by twelve years of war, the docile peasant of Asia Minor has been faced by an increase in cost of living, which, however, has not been as severe as in Western countries; a camel which in 1914 would sell for £T.25 gold now sells for £T.100 paper. Incidentally, the Assembly has voted for prohibition in Asia Minor, thus putting an end to a revenue which was said to amount to £T.4,000,000 a year.

#### THE MUNITIONS MIRACLE

Kemal had no munitions problem until the Greek occupation of Smyrna. Up to that time, according to the report of Gen-



eral Milne, former British commander in Constantinople, upon events in Turkey between the signatures of the Mudros armistice and the Sèvres treaty, the Turks had made an honest effort to obey the disarmament clauses of the armistice. But with the Greek occupation of Smyrna, Mustapha Kemal tore up the armistice, and thereafter not another cartridge was surrendered to the Allies. Some ammunition had not yet been surrendered. More was smuggled across the Black Sea from Russia. Still more came from the Italians at Adalia. Still more came from raids on allied depots along the Straits, raids conducted with or without the connivance of allied officers. Still more has come lately from the French, and it is not impossible that the American uniforms in which some of the Turkish Nationalist soldiers are clad may have originally been left as American surplus stocks in France. Early last December a British military mission in mufti went from Constantinople "to secure an option on the apple crop" at Ineboli. Rafet Pasha met them there, and arranged for the purchase of a large amount of British munitions for use against the Greeks; for the British Commander-in-Chief and the British High Commissioner in Constantinople have been in as happy accord on the subject of the Greeks as the War Office and the Foreign Office have been on a number of other Eastern subjects.

In the main, however, Kemal's military strength is due to the native resourcefulness of the Turkish soldier, as personified in the Chief of the General Staff, Fevzi Pasha, a great towering Anatolian Turk with drooping mustaches, who works from noon to dawn and never shows himself outside his office at Angora unless the Assembly summons him or unless he goes to the konak to preside over a Cabinet meeting. Machinery has had to be devised for changing the calibre of most of the foreign ammunition the General Staff has secured before it would fit its guns. Left by the disarmament clauses of the armistice with a large amount of dismantled artillery, the staff had even to fit its guns with new breech-blocks and range-finders before they could be used. There is hardly a more remarkable story in modern military history than the story of how Fevzi Pasha's

army on the western (Smyrna) front under Ismet Pasha's command has been equipped out of a left-over supply of dismantled artillery and misfit ammunition. The cost of that army to Asia Minor in its present impoverished condition has been appalling, but its creation by Fevzi Pasha under the desperate conditions which prevailed has been no less than miraculous. Concerning the present effectiveness of that army, naturally one can say but little until after the peace. I may cite the fact, however, that, although there were not more than 2,500 bayonets in the Nationalist army when the Greeks were thrown back from the Sakaria last September, today every Turkish infantryman has his bayonet.

#### THE WAR OFFICE

The Grand National Assembly easily adapted itself to this situation on April 23, 1920. Under the Ottoman Constitution, the powers of declaring war and peace, of dissolving Parliament, of receiving diplomatic representatives of foreign States, and of appointing the Cabinet and the Senate, are vested in the Sultan. The Assembly now took to itself the powers of declaring war and peace. The power of dissolving Parliament has not yet been allocated; when the Cabinet at Angora tried itself to take it last November, Mustapha Kemal defeated it in a noteworthy speech of four hours' duration. The power of receiving diplomatic representatives was temporarily delegated to Kemal, who became President of the Assembly. The Deputies took to themselves the right of naming by election their "mandatory Ministers," thus retaining for themselves both the legislative and executive functions of government. The Senate disappeared, and with these rapid adjustments the Assembly acquiesced in the rigorous War Office dictatorship which it found at Angora. The War Office (the Ministry of National Defense is its official title) had taken over the beautiful compound of the Sultana College, from whose cypress-scented buildings it was holding not only its frontiers but its provinces as well. There were two heads here—Rafet Pasha, Minister of War, whose authority was carried down into the provinces by Military Governors whom he had stationed in every provincial capital of importance, and his

colleague, Fevzi Pasha, Chief of the General Staff. Under Mustapha Kemal, these two ruled Asia Minor. In the Assembly's budget they were provided for with an estimated credit of £T.40,000,000 out of a total of £T.77,000,000, but it is to be doubted whether they troubled themselves much with the Finance Ministry. What money could be raised went to the War Office and the General Staff, nor did the Assembly ask any questions as long as the military situation remained necessarily dominant.

#### THE FOREIGN OFFICE

But with the victory on the Sakaria last September, the military situation turned the corner and a sudden importance was lent to the Foreign Office at Angora. The War Office having defended the clauses of the national pact successfully in the court of arms, which is the world's supreme court, the Foreign Office now found itself in a position to settle much of the rest of it out of court. Angora's Foreign Minister is Yussuf Kemal Bey, a short, tired Anatolian Turk with a dimple in his chin and a crumpled right hand, the result of a hunting accident on the

Bosporus years ago; his is not the practiced diplomatic finesse of Bekir Sami Bey, the huge, sloping Circassian who preceded him at the Foreign Office, but rather the lawyer's skill in negotiating the settlement of a case without long and expensive litigation. For two years Bekir Sami and Yussuf Kemal had been endeavoring to win over a friendly power with whom to confront England at the Peace Conference, but it was not until the War Office had first met success in the supreme test of the Sakaria that success came to the Foreign Office. On Oct. 20 last, less than a month after the Greek retreat began, Yussuf Kemal and M. Henry Franklin-Bouillon signed the Franco-Turkish peace treaty, by which France agreed to evacuate the rich plain of Cilicia. The immediate meaning of this famous agreement became apparent at the Near East conference in Paris last March, when Lord Curzon made wide concessions to Angora.

For three years Kemal's only communi-

A military blacksmith school, in which Turkish soldiers are being taught the gentle art of shoeing the up-to-date Arab steed



cation with the West had been via the Italian cable from Adalia to Rome, but the French agreement now restored Mersina to the Turks, and, in the general British climb-down which followed, telegraphic communication was restored last December from the Ottoman General Post Office in Constantinople to "the interior," and the Anatolian Railway began operating trains from its Constantinople terminus to Adabazar, whence carriage transport was available past the Greek left to Angora. American business men now began filtering into Angora, and Djelal Bey was transferred from the Ministry of Economics to the Foreign Office, to which he brought a vast scheme of railroad construction in Asia Minor in which Angora desired the participation of foreign capital. Both Yussuf Kemal and Djelal have told me frequently that the French agreement of last October does not establish a French economic ascendancy in Asia Minor, and that the country is still open to the investment of American capital.

A Turkish horse transport behind the fighting front in Asia Minor. The Turks also have a motor transport—mostly captured from the Greeks

#### NEW INTERIOR MINISTRY

Meanwhile the Grand National Assembly was becoming assertive. With the military situation definitely improved by the Battle of the Sakaria, the War Office was at last made responsible to the Ministry of Finance. With the Turkish deportees on Malta released and now available for use at Angora (a number of them were handed their appointments as Cabinet Ministers at Angora even before the British disembarked them at Ineboli), the internal administration of Asia Minor, including the gendarmerie and posts and telegraphs, was taken from the War Office and made over to a new Ministry of the Interior to which Fethy Bey was appointed. A Malta deportee, a former staff officer and a life-long friend of Mustapha Kemal's, Fethy Bey is a mild Macedonian Turk, whose quiet, almost shy, demeanor gives no hint of the strength he has contributed to Angora; the fact that it was he, as Turkish Minister to Bulgaria, who brought Bulgaria into the great war, may indicate his calibre. Despite the fact that he is confronted with the usual shortage of men and of money, and despite his initial ignorance of Asia Minor, much is expected of him.





At the same time, Raouf Bey, another Malta deportee, a former naval officer of that high-spirited, thoroughbred type which the world's navies seem peculiarly successful in producing, a man of Circassian and Albanian parentage, who headed the Turkish mission which signed the mid-night armistice at Mudros, was appointed Minister of Public Works. This appointment indicates the scarcity of good civilian timber at Angora, for few officers in any navy have had as distinguished a career as Raouf Bey's, but he had come back from two years of barbed wire on Malta to find that his country's navy was interned at Constantinople and that there was no naval work to be done around Angora except to get out the sextant once a day and shoot the noon gun. Thus began, only a few months ago, the work of creating a civilian administration in Asia Minor. It began with the utmost caution, however, for the Greeks were still in Asia Minor, and the war was still on.

But the mere beginning which has thus been made toward setting up a civilian administration at Angora has already had its effect on those Americans in Asia Minor who have become accustomed, through long residence in the country, to entertain toward the officials of the country an attitude which in any Western country would be regarded as rather irregular. Before the Sakaria victory, when Rafet Pasha's authority was complete, it was possible for American relief workers to take their requests to him casually, as if they were purely personal matters. But when the Assembly began asserting its authority, when the Ministry of the Interior was taken from Rafet Pasha and given to Fethy Bey, Americans were suddenly confronted with the necessity of discussing relief matters with a stranger. And when the Ministry of Finance was lifted into an actual and not a figurehead authority, Americans who desired to apply for the exemption of their relief supplies from the payment of customs duties were confronted with the necessity of talking to Hassan Tahsin Bey, another stranger. A certain type of American in Turkey, whose civic honesty in the United States would be above the remotest suspicion, has found the old régime of absolutism in the East, with its capitulatory régime for foreigners, its tea-for-two

relationship with the native authorities, and its resultant reign of baksheesh and corruption, not wholly unpleasant. But Eastern absolutism has not contributed to the world's peace. Nationalism and the seeds of parliamentary government have come to stay, and not in Turkey alone. As a result, some of these Americans are finding themselves for the first time in the strange predicament of being compelled to treat a Government official in Asia Minor as if he were a Government official.

#### PLANS FOR A NEW TURKEY

Throughout his career, Mustapha Kemal's platform has been the holding of such frontiers as remained to his country, pending such an overhauling of its medieval internal administration as would ultimately admit it into the family of the world's civilized nations. It was with these views that he participated in the Young Turkish revolution of 1908, and later withdrew from politics in bitter disillusionment with the Committee of Union and Progress. It was with these views that he himself accomplished the Nationalist revolution of 1920. The Young Turkish revolution of 1908 turned out to be a mere local coup d'état in Constantinople. What the Nationalist revolution of 1920 will turn out to be remains to be seen. Whatever it may turn out to be, it will have all of Asia Minor for its scene. Although what may happen tomorrow is uncertain, today there is no possibility of counter-revolution.

Thus far, Kemal is still engaged in holding his frontiers, and has had no adequate opportunity to develop his internal program. "Give us two years after the peace, and we will show you results," he says. In the meantime, however, I may point out one important advantage, bearing on the possibility of "results," which the Young Turkish revolution of 1908 did not enjoy. Article VI. of the National Pact reads: "With a view to giving the country a regular and more modern administration, the signatories of the present pact consider the possession of complete independence and liberty as the sine qua non of our national existence. In consequence, we oppose all juridical or financial restrictions of any nature which would arrest our national development." This is a reference



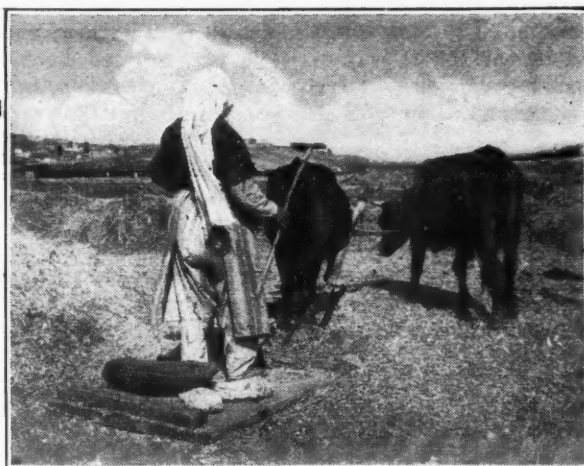
to the capitulations, which were abrogated by the Ottoman Government on Sept. 28, 1914, an abrogation which Kemal has confirmed in the National Pact.

The capitulations date back to the golden days of the Ottoman Empire, when certain specific rights to be governed under their own laws were granted to foreigners by the powerful Sultans of the day. In time a large body of these rights accumulated, and, as Ottoman prestige decreased, an increasing number of capitulatory rights grew up outside the specific rights originally stipulated in the imperial firmans. In general, it may be said of them that they conferred a diplomatic status on all foreigners in the empire, attaching them to their own consulates instead of to the Ottoman Government under which they chose to live. The result has been the same in the Ottoman Empire as it has been in all other Eastern countries enjoying a capitulatory régime. Such a régime prevails in China, and must bear its share of responsibility for the chaos in China today. The same régime prevails in Persia and played its part in making possible the Anglo-Russian treaty of 1907 and the Anglo-Persian agreement of 1919. The same may be said for Egypt and the "independent" kingdom of Fuad I. Indeed, it is impossible to compare the rising Japan and the sinking Ottoman Empire of

1914 without being reminded of the fact that Japan abrogated its capitulations in 1890.

The framed motto from the Koran, already referred to, hangs high on the wooden wall of the Grand National Assembly's chamber. Below it is the Speaker's desk, occupied by Dr. Adnan Bey, a lank, weak-looking man with a persistent cough, who would prefer to devote the rest of his life to the Red Crescent, but who is wearing himself away in political duties which he cordially dislikes. Below the Speaker's desk is the small wooden rostrum occupied by Deputies in addressing the Assembly, and below the rostrum on the floor of the chamber are the 342 Deputies of the Assembly, sitting, standing or walking about among their crowded rows of desks. They vary in personal appearance from the ample and immaculate figure of Djelladin Arif Bey, Deputy for Erzerum, to three Kurdish chiefs who can neither read nor write. The din of their conversation, both within the chamber and in the corridor without, is continual, and the intermittent tinkle of the Speaker's hand-bell does little to abate it, for the Assembly at Angora is as noisy as all other Parliaments are.

All the Deputies belong to the Moslem community. They have made Friday the compulsory holy day in Asia Minor, and



A Turkish woman threshing wheat by the primitive method of two thousand years ago. With their men in the army, the women of Asia Minor now have to do even more of the farm work than usual

the calls to prayer sound every day through the Assembly building and the konak, where most of the Cabinet Ministers have their offices. Yet the National Pact, the execution of which is the sole reason for the Assembly's existence, is a nationalist, and not a Moslem, document. Hassan Fehmi Effendi, an amiable little gentleman of 63, still sits in the Cabinet as Minister for Sacred Law, a new post which combines the old Sheik-ul-Islamate and the Ministry of Evkaf. But his courts and his schools have been taken from him, and

it is to be doubted whether he and his office force of one assistant wield much actual influence in the Government. The Government of the Grand National Assembly is literally a Nationalist Government, and its leaders have not forgotten that Indian and Algerian Moslems fought against them in the great war. This is the Government which proposes to introduce Turkey, as an equal among equals, into the comity of progressive nations.

(Next month: *Mustapha Kemal Pashu and the Christians.*)

### THE QUEST FOR "COLD LIGHT"

THE world was recently startled by an announcement from Princeton University that the mysterious light of the glowworm, which shines and yet does not burn, and the origin of which has puzzled the minds of men since the days of Plato and Aristotle, had been isolated and imprisoned in bottles by Professor E. Newton Harvey. The substance producing it, now called "luciferin," was discovered by Professor Harvey in the Sea of Japan, which he found to be filled with minute crustaceans possessing the light-giving power. Isolated in a glass jar, it is so luminous as to make reading possible within a few feet in a darkened room. The discoverer, however, admits that he can see no way to obtain the substance in sufficiently large quantities to make it important in science and industry.

In The Los Angeles Examiner of May 28, 1922, a different kind of "cold light" was recorded by Patrick De Lacy-Mulhall. Its inventor is Max J. Ritterath of Los Angeles, and it has already been placed on the market by a large engineering company. Starting with the consuming light

of ampere lamps, concentrating a beam of 30,000 candle power, Ritterath devised an apparatus the main principle of which was the dissolution of the infra-red or burning element of light through a spiral stream of water kept constantly flowing through the apparatus. In a demonstration on March 15 in the laboratories of the Goldwyn Motion Picture Production Company, Ritterath concentrated into one beam the light from a battery of six seventy-ampere arc lamps with a temperature of 6,200 degrees Fahrenheit. At the "gate" of the projecting machine each beam still registered the terrific temperature of 1,200 degrees Fahrenheit, enough to explode a picture film in three and one-half seconds. The concentrated beam of 30,000 candle power, after passing through the Ritterath apparatus, left an exposed film intact. Subsequent experiments with TNT were even more decisive. The filtered light was heatless. Apart from the power of the new invention to prevent film fires, of which there were upward of 3,800 in the United States in 1921, the possibilities of its application to science and industry are incalculable.

# HOW EGYPT ARRIVED AT INDEPENDENCE

By LOUISE AHL JESSOP

Resident of Egypt, 1913-1921, in close association with Government Officials

*A vivid and brilliant summary covering the whole period of British occupation of Egypt, the growth of the Nationalist agitation, and the events leading up to the seating of Ahmed*

*Fuad Pasha on the ancient throne of the Pharaohs*

THE declaration by Great Britain that Egypt is a "sovereign independent State," and the proclamation on March 16, 1922, of the Sultan, Ahmed Fuad Pasha, as King of Egypt, constituted an event of the greatest historical importance in the life of Egypt, the exact import of which may be weighed by the fact that not since the year 500 B. C., when Egypt was conquered by the Persians, had a native prince sat upon the throne of the Pharaohs.

Since that first, now far-off, conquest by the Persians the fate of Egypt has gone through strange vicissitudes. When the Persian power declined the country was taken in turn by the Greeks, Romans, Byzantines, Arabs and Mamelukes. The date 1517 may be inscribed in red letters, for it was in that year that the Turks invaded and conquered Egypt, and turned it into a Turkish "Pashalic." Soon afterward, however, Turkish authority began to decline, and, though the Turks still ruled in name, the Mamelukes exercised the real power.

The modern era of Egyptian history may be said to date from 1798, when Napoleon Bonaparte arrived in Egypt and took over the country in the name of France. During this period Mohammed Ali, an Albanian, was sent to the country as Captain of a military unit from Kavala, and found a great opportunity, which he was not slow

to seize. In a short time he became Pasha of Egypt, with the approval of the Porte; seized the citadel of Cairo, and soon rid himself of the Mamelukes by a wholesale massacre of those who had survived the Battle of the Pyramids. The spot is shown today where the only one said to have escaped leaped over the high wall and made his way out of the city.

Mohammed Ali made himself master of the country and would have rendered it independent of Turkey had the European powers, principally England, not intervened. With him, however, the history of modern Egypt began, and the renaissance which he brought about "created in the rising generations of Egyptians a sense of pride in their country which became the germ of Egyptian nationalism," says Sir Valentine Chirol.\* "The Nationalists forget today," he adds, "that the autonomy he wrung from the Sublime Porte never meant freedom for their forefathers, but only freedom for himself to rule them according to his own will." Mohammed Ali was really an alien in race, feeling and language, and cared nothing for the people whom he ruled. He was a great man in many ways, and his ambition was to raise Egypt as much as possible to the status of a European power. In this endeavor he

\*Former Foreign Director of The London Times and a British officer on the Royal Commission for Indian Public Services.

instituted some lasting reforms, and spent a great deal in public works which have endured. But it was the country in which he took such a pride, not the people. They were ground down under ruinous taxes, and held practically in slavery by the military system and the oppressive workings of the "corvée" [gratuitous labor exacted by the Government].

Mohammed's immediate successor, Ibrahim, was a strong man, but lived too short a time to accomplish anything. The two following him left no impress on the country except that Saïd granted the original concession for the Suez Canal.

In 1863 Ismail, the son of Ibrahim Pasha, became the ruler. He had been educated in France, and strongly favored everything European. He was weak, vain and colossally extravagant, and was the cause of foreign intervention in the affairs of Egypt because of the huge debt he piled up. When he became ruler the public debt was only about £4,000,000; when he was deposed it had risen to almost £100,000,000, a large part of which had been secured through European loans. It was during his reign that the Suez Canal was opened amid great splendor. Empress Eugénie of France was the central figure of that gay throng, and for her comfort and pleasure were built the Opera House and Gezira Palace. Ismail is said to have presented to Eugénie the great pyramid, which, luckily for Egypt, she could not carry away.

This extravagance meant misery for the fellaheen [Egyptian peasant class], who were taxed excessively, and often deprived of water for the cultivation of their land that it might be diverted to the immense estates of the Khédive. Many of the peasants were liable to do corvée work, that is, forced labor) without pay, on public works and on the Khédive's private estates, and it caused tremendous hardships. These men had to feed themselves, sleep where and how they could, and often neglect their little patches of ground. Young men were impressed into military service, and in order to escape it did not hesitate to maim themselves. An old man who scrubbed the floors in the building in Cairo in which we lived had pulled his teeth for this reason. Many blinded themselves in one eye. Na-

tionalists often refer to the freedom and prosperity which Egypt enjoyed before the British occupation. The present generation are too young to have experienced the corvée, the courbash (whip), the press gang—in short, the virtual slavery in which their fathers lived.

Ismail's son Tewfik succeeded him, and it was in Tewfik's reign that foreign control began in the shape of two Controllers General and an International Commission of Liquidation to deal with the financial situation which Ismail had created.

#### THE BRITISH OCCUPATION

In Tewfik's reign occurred also the first Nationalist uprising. It was semi-military in character, and was in the first instance a mutiny of Egyptian-born officers against those of non-Egyptian stock. Its leader was Arabi, a man of fellah origin. The demands of the party steadily increased, until Arabi became practically the dictator of Egypt. The movement assumed an anti-European character, and confusion reigned. At the end of May, 1882, a British and French fleet arrived before Alexandria. In June an anti-European outbreak occurred and a number of foreigners were killed. In July the French fleet refused to co-operate, owing to a change of Ministry in France, and sailed away, and the British fleet bombarded Alexandria. In September Arabi's camp at Tel-el-Khebir was taken, and the Egyptian leader sent to Ceylon.

Thus began the British occupation in 1882. It is divided into two distinct parts, the first corresponding to the time Lord Cromer was British Consul General and Diplomatic Agent, beginning in 1883, and ending when he left Egypt in 1907; and the second from the latter year until the present time. During Lord Cromer's administration, many drastic and far-reaching reforms were brought about which raised the great mass of the people from virtual slavery into material prosperity, and with the intellectual and moral advancement incident to this, aroused a national consciousness. The courbash (whip) and corvée (forced labor) were abolished, and corruption in Government greatly lessened—a reform of the three Cs, as Lord Cromer aptly puts it. Taxes were equalized, water distributed to rich



and poor alike, military and judicial reforms instituted, and more acreage was brought under cultivation—in short, the country was largely redeemed from the curse of oppression.

Before the occupation, the fellah was largely ruled by the courbash. Taxes were wrung from him by flogging if necessary; not once a year, but as often as his superiors pleased; he was flogged to the *corvée*; he was flogged for crime. Lord Cromer cites a most interesting instance of the new spirit which the edict against the use of the whip evoked. A peasant accused of some crime was brought before the Moudir (or Provincial Governor). A British officer was present. The man declined to answer the questions put to him. The Moudir directed that he be flogged, and all the usual steps preliminary to such a proceeding were taken. The peasant was not impressed. "The English are here," he said to the Moudir, "you know that you cannot flog me"—and he was not flogged. This spirit of confidence in the English was strong in the fellaheen until the Spring of 1919.

#### LORD CROMER'S ACCOMPLISHMENT

A better idea of what was accomplished during this period cannot be given than by quoting Lord Cromer's speech on the eve of his departure from Egypt, in answer to criticism that his work had been too much along material lines, and that not enough attention had been given to moral and intellectual advancement. Lord Cromer said in part:

I hear it frequently stated that, although the material prosperity of Egypt has increased marvelously of late years, nothing has been done toward the moral and intellectual advancement of the people. What, gentlemen, has there been no moral advancement? Is the country any longer governed, as was formerly the case, exclusively by the use of the whip? Is not forced labor a thing of the past? Has not the accursed institution of slavery practically ceased to exist? Is it not a fact that every individual in the country, from the highest to the lowest, is now equal in the eyes of the law; that thrift has been encouraged, and that the most humble member of society can reap the fruits of his own labor and industry; that justice is no longer bought and sold, that every one is free, perhaps some would think too free, to express his opinions; that King Baksheesh has been dethroned from high places and now only lingers in the purlieus and byways of the Administration; that the fertilizing water of the Nile is distributed impartially to prince

and peasant alike; that the sick man can be tended in a well-equipped hospital; that the criminal and the lunatic are no longer treated as wild beasts; that even the lot of the brute creation has not escaped the eyes of the reformer; that the solidarity of interests between the governors and the governed has been recognized in theory and in practice; that every act of the Administration, even if at times mistaken—for no one is infallible—bears the mark of honesty of purpose and an earnest desire to secure the well-being of the population; and further, that the funds, very much reduced in amount, which are now taken from the pockets of the taxpayers, instead of being, for the most part, spent on useless palaces and other objects in which they were in no degree interested, are devoted to purposes which are of real benefit to the country? If all these, and many other points to which I could allude, do not constitute some moral advancement, then, of a truth, I do not know what the word morality implies.

And yet those halcyon days before 1882, when courbash, *corvée* and corruption ruled supreme, are referred to by the Nationalists of the present time as "the freedom and prosperity which Egypt enjoyed before the British occupation!"

Much more could have been done for the country had conditions not been so complex. The ruling class, made up of Turco-Egyptians before the British came, greatly disliked to see their powers diminished, depriving them of their former opportunities for bribery and enrichment. The jealousy of the French also had to be reckoned with. Ever since Napoleon's invasion of Egypt they had exerted a powerful influence on the country, not as a ruling power, but as a model for government and social convention. Later, France repented of her refusal to co-operate with the British at the time of the Arabi rebellion and played the dog in the manger, but the Anglo-French convention of 1904 changed that attitude, and she no longer obstructed England's policy.

The capitulations, especially, were a fruitful source of trouble. Originally they were "letters of privilege delivered by the Sultans of Turkey to Europeans who wished to reside and acquire real property in their dominions." The reason for them was the Turkish theory that Moslems could not make treaties with Christians, but that the "Commander of the Faithful might of his grace condescend to grant 'privileges.'" These privileges later became rights. Sir Valentine Chirol summarizes as follows the most serious re-

straints to which Egypt is subjected by the capitulations.

1. No direct tax can be imposed on foreigners resident in Egypt without the consent of all the capitulation powers.

2. All civil and commercial cases, and all cases relating to land between foreigners and Egyptians, or between foreigners of the same or different nationalities, are tried by the Mixed Courts, which consist largely of foreign Judges.

3. All criminal charges against foreigners, with a few exceptions, which come within the jurisdiction of the Mixed Tribunals, are tried in the Consular Court of the defendant's own nationality.

4. No domiciliary visit can take place in the premises of a foreigner without the previous consent of his own Consular authority, and the Egyptian police cannot without such authority enter any foreigner's house, except in case of fire or of an unmistakable cry for help against violence.

The fourth provision in practice worked out badly, and often seriously obstructed justice. Let us suppose some serious breach of the law were being committed—in the house of a Greek, for instance; before that house could be entered consent had to be obtained from the Consul of that country. He could delay if he so desired until an alarm was given, in which case by the time the police arrived the birds would have flown.

Infinite patience and tact were required on the part of Lord Cromer to secure many of the reforms instituted in the face of all obstructions. In the later years of his administration, fortunately, the English Government relied largely on his judgment, and interfered very little with his work.

#### THE GROWTH OF REBELLION

A short time before the end of Lord Cromer's régime, he realized that there were fresh stirrings among the Nationalist Party which had been born during Arabi's rebellion. He realized that there were only two alternative courses for Egypt—autonomy, or incorporation into the British Empire. The former was his choice, but he believed that one or more generations must pass away before the question could even be usefully discussed. The party was split into two sections—the radicals and moderates—the former being Pan-Islamic and bitterly anti-British; the latter believing that the Egyptians should have more responsibility in the Government, that young Egyptians should be trained for

this, but that the country was not ready for self-government. In this moderate party was Saad Zaghlul Pasha, and Lord Cromer chose him as Minister of Education. In his farewell speech Lord Cromer referred to him in terms of high commendation:

Lastly, gentlemen, I should like to mention the name of one with whom I have only recently co-operated, but for whom in that short time I have learned to entertain a high regard. Unless I am much mistaken a career of great public usefulness lies before the present Minister of Education, Saad Zaghlul Pasha. He possesses all the qualities to serve his country. He is honest; he is capable; he has the courage of his convictions; he has been abused by many of his less worthy countrymen. These are high qualifications. He should go far.

Saad Zaghlul, whom Lord Cromer so praised, is the man who has since become the leader of the radical party. He is bitterly anti-English and demands "complete independence."

Sir Eldon Gorst, who had been trained under Lord Cromer, succeeded his chief, and, according to the British Government's intention, began to arrange for local self-government as a beginning. His efforts were not successful, and anti-British feeling ran high. Such petty demonstrations of hostility as jostling Englishmen on the sidewalks occurred. Nationalists were very active. The situation called for a strong hand, which was found in Lord Kitchener. His prestige was great. The conqueror of the Sudan was well known and both feared and admired in Egypt. As some one remarked to us in 1913, just after we arrived in the country: "His presence was enough to quiet things before he had time to act." Soon after his arrival the condition of the country became apparently normal. The Khédive, Abbas Hilma II., who plotted against the English whenever there was an occasion, soon learned that he had a master to deal with. Lord Kitchener was particularly interested in the fellaheen, for of them he had created the army with which he conquered the Sudan. He it was who enacted the five-feddan law for their protection. This simply meant that the last five feddans of land—roughly five acres—which a peasant owned could not be sold for a debt. About 1,000,000 men were benefited by this enactment. Lord Kitchener was always accessible to the fellaheen and patiently settled their differences.



The Average Egyptian Takes Life Calmly, Smoking His Narghileh and Not Worrying Much Over Political Matters.

At this time—just before the war—the country was still nominally a part of the Turkish Empire. Since the occupation the Ottoman power had steadily declined. The only vestige of vassalage was an annual tribute of over £300,000 paid to the Sultan, or rather to his creditors. Egypt was governed by Khédive Abbas Hilma II., assisted by a Cabinet of largely Turco-Egyptian Ministers. The Khédive's Government was also nominal, his independence of action being controlled by the British Diplomatic Agent, at this time Lord Kitchener. Each portfolio was held, again in name, by an Egyptian (generally a Turco-Egyptian), but second to him was an Englishman, called an adviser, who really did the work.

#### KITCHENER'S STRONG HAND

This state of affairs lasted until December, 1914, just after Turkey entered the war on the side of the Central Powers. When the war began Lord Kitchener was in England, and, as every one knows, remained there to organize the army which

was called by his name. The Khédive, who was in Constantinople, plotting against Britain, was never allowed to return, but quietly deposed, and a British protectorate was openly proclaimed. The uncle of Abbas II., a British sympathizer, was appointed ruler and given a new title, that of Sultan. The British Diplomatic Agent became a High Commissioner, with powers not greater but more openly exercised. Sir Henry MacMahon, the first High Commissioner, arrived in December, 1914. To confuse matters more, Egypt was under martial law, and so the Commander in Chief of the army was also military dictator. Just where the power of the military ruler ended and that of the civilian ruler began was never clearly defined. This did not always make for the smooth running of affairs.

During the entire progress of the war Egypt was quiet and prosperous. At the very beginning a few attempts were made by the Nationalist Party to stir up rebellion against British authority, but the plots were always discovered in time and the



leaders quietly imprisoned or deported. No chances of trouble could be taken in this land which was the connecting link between England and her empire in the east—Australia, New Zealand and India. The mass of the people had neither part nor interest in these attempts, but were satisfied with British rule, for under it their cotton brought good prices, and they were not ground down by oppression or overtaxation. The Fellaheen then cared little who ruled so long as they prospered. During the war Turkey and Germany made two attempts in the east to take Egypt, and stirred up trouble among the Senussi, a fanatical Moslem tribe in the west, and among the inhabitants of Darfur, under Ali Denar, in the Sudan, but, as I said before, there was no revolt from within.

It was not until after the war ended, early in March of 1919, that serious trouble began in Egypt. There were a number of contributing causes to this little "revolution." President Wilson's declaration concerning the right of self-determination of small nations was taken very seriously. After the armistice a mob collected in the streets of Alexandria and raised the American flag in the belief that America would come to their aid.

The Nationalist Party, headed by Zaghlul Pasha, who by this time were demanding "complete independence," claimed to represent the nation and asked that a Nationalist delegation be allowed to go to Paris. This request was refused. Later a proposal that two of the Egyptian Ministers should proceed to England to confer with the British Government was also refused by those in power in London. The Nationalists felt that as a part of the British Empire, even though unwillingly so, Egypt had as much right to be represented at the Peace Conference as the newly-formed kingdom of the Hedjaz. Excitement grew intense. Until 1917 the fellaheen had been firm friends of the British, because they realized that to them they were indebted for emancipation from Turkish oppression. In former disturbances the discontent had been restricted to high religious dignitaries, sheiks and the governing classes, but in March of 1919 the fellaheen joined, combined against the British

and the uprising may be called a national one.

#### WHY THE FELLAHEEN TURNED

This was due to the exigencies of war. The labor corps for the armies in Gallipoli, Sinai, Palestine and Mesopotamia were recruited from the Egyptian peasants. Some also were sent to France. As animals were needed, they, too, were secured from the villages. This conscription of men and animals was permitted to drift into a means of oppression of the poor and helpless. This was not the old forced labor system, in which no payment was made to those who worked; the labor corps was paid high wages, according to the standard of the country, by the military authorities. They were non-combatants, used for road building or trench making and released valuable fighting material. The trouble was mostly in the means used to obtain labor. At first they volunteered willingly, but later, under increasing war pressure, it was not so easy to get the required numbers, and the Moudirs (provincial Governors), Moudirs (district Governors), and Omdahs (heads of villages) used their own particular methods to secure the enrollment. Laborers were an absolute necessity, and the British asked no questions.

Corn and fodder were also needed to feed large numbers of animals used in the army. At first the rich were principally drawn upon, as they could best afford it. They naturally complained and obtained a hearing. Gradually, as the war was prolonged, the collection of corn and fodder for the army became an instrument in the hands of the native officials for the oppression of the poor and for extortion. The more the stores of these supplies diminished, the more the feelings of the fellaheen were outraged by seeing, for the first time in forty years of British intervention, such oppression countenanced. The proclamation of the British protectorate became in their eyes synonymous with oppression under a new master. If injustice were to exist, they felt, it was better to have it under the old Mohammedan rule than under the hated Christian.

This abuse would probably never have occurred had so many British officials not left their posts for army work. Without





(© Ewing Galloway)

Egyptian Women Near Memphis Carrying Water Jars on Their Heads, the immemorial Custom of the Country. At the Left Is the Bedrashen Irrigating Canal.

them normal supervision could not go on, and these unscrupulous native officials had it all their own way, rejoicing in the opportunity of going back to Turkish methods. "King Backsheesh" again reigned supreme. The chance of enriching themselves was too good for these native officials to let slip by, and what they did was under shelter of "orders from the British Government." The fellaheen believed that the abuses were due to the direct commands of the ruling power. No wonder the British lost the confidence and friendship of the fellaheen. Sir Valentine Chirol believes that after the armistice "had a proclamation been issued recognizing the great value of all the contributions made by the fellaheen for the successful prosecution of the war, acknowledging that under pressure of military necessity real hardships had been, however unwillingly, inflicted upon them, owing to lack of British supervision, and promising prompt inquiry and redress, the harm done to our reputation for kindness and justice might have been to some extent repaired."

During March, 1919, active rebellion occurred generally throughout Egypt. Martial law was proclaimed, British troops

called out and by the first of April the situation was in hand. But many, both Europeans (including some British) and Egyptians, had been killed and wounded. This phase was followed by passive rebellion, including strikes ranging from Ministers of Government down to school children.

#### THE MILNER MISSION

At last the British Government decided to send the Milner Commission out to investigate conditions and "to draw up recommendations which would assist the British Government in meeting the claims of the Egyptian people to a due and increasing share in the management of the affairs of Egypt." The delay of eight months had not helped matters. Zaghlul Pasha, who had been deported to Malta and allowed to return, had left the country, and made Paris his headquarters. From there he issued his proclamations and orders to his party in Egypt, and they were obediently carried out by the party so far as in their power lay. The decision of the Nationalists was to boycott the commission—really a policy of non-co-operation—and to balk its efforts to arrive at the true state of affairs. Current rumor in Cairo at the time

was that there was much backdoor visitation by the Egyptians of the members of the commission, in spite of the determination of the leaders not to help. During this period the country was quiet except for periodic strikes among the students. As I came out of the Ezbekieh Gardens one morning, I saw several trainloads of young men going by, wildly gesticulating and shrieking "Complete independence!" in Arabic.

The ideas of some were rather hazy as to the exact meaning of "complete independence," or, at any rate, as to how it should be effected. Their notion was that the Egyptians should have full liberty, but that Great Britain should protect them in their independence. Others, of course, felt that Egypt was quite capable of standing alone, and wanted nothing of England.

The findings of the Milner Commission recommended a large measure of self-government for the Egyptians. A treaty was to be entered into between the two countries under which "Great Britain would recognize the independence of Egypt as a constitutional monarchy with representative institutions, and Egypt would confer on Great Britain such rights as would safeguard her special interests and enable her to furnish the guarantee to foreign powers to secure their relinquishment of their special rights under the capitulations." Egypt was also to enjoy the right of representation in foreign countries. But, according to the old adage, the more people get the more they want, and the extremists, headed by Zaghlul, considered these proposals in certain parts not strongly enough in favor of Egyptian aspirations. Their real desire was to break away entirely from Great Britain.

Meantime, Adley Pasha had become Premier. He was more of a conservative than Zaghlul, and had been a member of the delegation sent by the Nationalists to the Peace Conference. A personal quarrel arose between the leaders, which resulted in a split in the party. Zaghlul manifested his jealousy of Adley in many ways. The quarrel went on, causing some serious demonstrations which finally culminated in disgraceful riots and a massacre of Europeans in Alexandria, in May, 1921. In accordance with her policy, Great Britain

did not interfere until the Governor of Alexandria acknowledged that he could not handle the situation, and called for British troops to quell the riot. One of the demands of the Nationalist Party had been the removal of British troops from the country, a demand coupled with the boastful assertion that the Nationalists could take care of foreigners.

After this a deputation with Adley Pasha as leader went to London to negotiate with the Government. There Zaghlul, whose wish to head this party had been rejected, showed his jealousy by doing all possible to frustrate its work. (He had been offered a place on the deputation, but the Egyptian Government had felt that the Prime Minister should be at its head.)

#### HOW INDEPENDENCE CAME

Early in December, 1921, Adley Pasha returned to Egypt. Complete independence was denied the Egyptians, and the terms offered were not so generous as they would have been had the Alexandria riots not occurred. Certain members of the British Government were skeptical as to the ability of the Egyptians to maintain law and order after those disgraceful scenes, and strong representations against England's leaving Egypt were made by other European powers which had interests in that country. The real rock on which the negotiations broke was the question of keeping British troops at certain places in Egypt, not merely on the Suez Canal, although Adley took exception to several other provisions. He said concerning the military clause that it "destroys every idea of independence and suppresses even internal sovereignty."

A letter received from Egypt said that his return without having accomplished anything was the signal for demonstrations, strikes and a renewal of bitter feeling. The Egyptians boycotted all Britishers and British goods, and British enterprise was stopped pending future eventualities. Street lamps all over Cairo were broken by boys and many stores were minus plate glass windows. Trees were broken down, autos smashed, a few Europeans stoned, and occasionally one was assassinated.

Zaghlul and four others were deported to Ceylon. The Egyptians are said to have

threatened to kill one Englishman a day until Zaghlul is allowed to return.

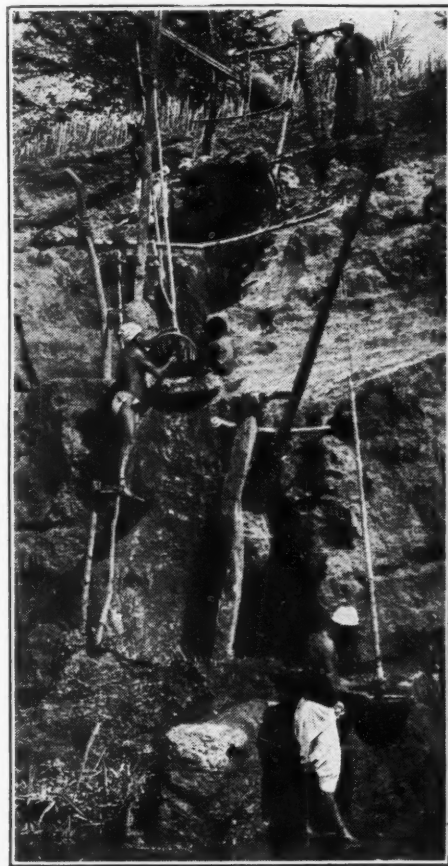
Lord Allenby, High Commissioner of Egypt, became convinced that only two courses were open to Great Britain at this time—either to give Egypt her independence or, at a future time, to annex her forcibly to the empire. The latter course would be against Britain's real policy in the British commonwealth of nations, and would be costly in lives and money, besides upholding might against right. After letters setting forth his views to the Government, Lord Allenby was invited home to consult. The result was the declaration that Egypt is a "sovereign independent State" and the proclamation on March 16, 1922, of the Sultan Ahmed Fuad Pasha as King of Egypt. The questions of Britain's communications, the defense of Egypt against foreign aggression and the protection of foreigners and foreign interests were reserved for future settlement. The official communication says: "In all these matters the status quo is maintained, but we declare our willingness to negotiate specific agreements upon them with the Egyptian Government at some later date, when they desire it, and circumstances promise success. In the meantime the Egyptians will be free to develop national institutions in accordance with their aspirations."

There is still fruitful cause for trouble in "these questions reserved for future settlement." The British civil administration has largely ceased to operate, and though the British troops remain, their future numbers, stations and powers are still matters of complete uncertainty. The main and dominating issue for the moment is the future protection of European residents and their immense interests. Under the plan recommended in the report of the Milner Mission, all the Capitulations are to be exchanged for British guarantees or safeguards covering all foreign subjects. The question is whether the non-British nations interested—France, Italy and the United States—will accept this security. A serious problem is concerned with the future disposition of the Sudan, which Great Britain recently intimated officially would be retained by the British. Early in May the Cairo press was fulminating against this announcement on the ground

that the Sudan was reserved for discussion after the appointment of Egyptian plenipotentiaries and was calling on the Cabinet to file an injunction on the British program, setting forth Egypt's claims. The Zaghlulists have since been doing what they could to make capital out of this agitation.

These and other problems make the effecting of a conciliation difficult. The storm centre in June and July was the new Constitution, which was being drafted; but both England and Egypt showed a conciliatory spirit, inspiring the hope that a friendly alliance would eventually strengthen both the great empire and the new kingdom.

An Egyptian Shaduf, the Oldest of Well Sweeps, Lifting the Nile Waters by Man Power to the Thirsty Fields



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# THE TRUTH ABOUT CONSTANTINE AND VENIZELOS

By J. GENNADIUS

Former Greek Ambassador to London

*To the Editor of Current History:*

**M**R. TSAMADOS, who acted for a couple of years as Greek chargé d'Affaires in Washington, and who, on the defeat of the Venizelist party at the election of November, 1920, abandoned his post of trust, has now undertaken, in his "Venizelos Vindicated" (your issue of June), to reply to an article of mine which appeared as far back as January last.

Certain assertions of his cannot be allowed to pass as history. In the first place, there never was any "mystery" about my mission to this country. Its purpose was made known in the usual way, to the proper quarters, and I had occasion to state it myself in a newspaper interview. In spite of the "cloak of mystery" which concealed my mission, Mr. Tsamados has discovered that I have "come to the United States to plead the cause of King Constantine," whom he charges with treachery and other "simian antics of this Balkan Kaiserling." It is here that our ways part. The Venizelists have rent the country in twain as it has never been divided before, "tragically divided into two sections," as Mr. Tsamados himself admits; and they consider that there is no Greece but the faction which wishes them back in power. Yet Mr. Venizelos has formally declared that he accepts the results of the elections and of the plebiscite of November, 1920, which established the present order of things in Greece. His avowed supporters, however, those especially who are disappointed place hunters, refuse to abide by the verdict of the Greek people, notwithstanding their theoretical adoption of "democratic ideals."

I, on the contrary, having never harnessed myself to any party, but having invariably and consistently served the interest of my country alone, to the best of my ability, accept loyally the régime now established in Greece. More than half a

century's experience and close study of public affairs have convinced me that to seek a fresh upset in Greece, especially in present circumstances, such as the Venizelists are meditating and working for, would be a suicidal policy and a foul crime. This is the attitude of the overwhelming majority of Greeks. What have the Venizelists proposed as an alternative? They dilate here in the United States on the blessings of a republic. If they believe that they have a ghost of a chance, why do they not preach their new faith in Greece, for which country they offer their nostrum? Simply because they know that they would be laughed to scorn and received with eggs of truly classic antiquity. The people of Greece, the most democratic in Europe, are in the enjoyment of liberties more extensive than those of the Americans themselves, the President of the United States possessing far greater power than the Constitutional Sovereign of Greece.\*

The Greeks are devoted to King Constantine; they have proved their devotion in an unmistakable manner; they adore him—I repeat it—as the first born Greek Prince awaited and prayed for for five centuries, as the brilliant strategist, victorious in two wars. Mr. Tsamados himself has the frankness to admit all this when he says "there were many whom, naturally, a feeling of conservative loyalty, and even affection, attached to the person of the King." And again he speaks of

\*The following is from "an unpublished statement" made by Mr. Venizelos in December, 1915, as given by Paxton Hibben in his "Constantine I. and the Greek People," page 579: "Greece is not ready for a republic, and may not be ready for centuries. I have never believed a republic suitable as a Government for Greece at this epoch of her history. I have frequently told the King that Greece will need his family a hundred, perhaps two hundred, years longer. \* \* \* If there were to be a republic I should be chosen President; but there would be no one in the Liberal Party to succeed me. Greece would be in the position of Mexico under Porfirio Diaz. That was bad for Mexico, and it would be even worse for Greece."



a "noble sentiment of personal attachment and loyalty to the King, who was once deservedly popular." But I challenge him to substantiate by a single well-authenticated citation his assertion that King Constantine claimed to be the "elect of God." He also ventures upon the statement that those who shot and wounded Mr. Venizelos at the Gare de Lyon in Paris were "the hired agents of Constantine." He must have known that at their trial it was established beyond dispute that the attempt was the result of the attackers' own grievances arising from the prosecution of their relatives under the Venizelist régime. The only allusion to King Constantine during the trial was that of Mr. Venizelos himself, who as a witness made a regrettable use of the occasion to repeat his attacks against the Greek sovereign. Has Mr. Tsamados had the curiosity to read Paxton Hibben's recent work, "Constantine I. and the Greek People"? As he protests that his purpose is to serve the truth, I would urge him to consider carefully what this distinguished American publicist has to say in respect to events of which he was an eyewitness.

Mr. Tsamados is good enough to inquire after the state of my conscience, which, he thinks, "pricks" me. I am afraid he has addressed his inquiries to the wrong quarter. My conscience is always concerned, first and foremost, about my country, not about parties; and relying on the verdict of my countrymen rather than on any self-consciousness, I think I need not fear that any serious reproach will be attached to my public career. It is perfectly true that I expressed admiration for Mr. Venizelos's achievements in the field of foreign policy. I do so again now, and even at the risk of trespassing on the preserves of Mr. Tsamados, who evidently considers loyalty to the established constitutional order of things on the part of a diplomatic servant as incompatible with a just appreciation of the merits of a statesman out of power.

What I deprecated and still deplore is what all true friends of Mr. Venizelos told him, and what should have warned him of the coming catastrophe—namely, that he had made a disastrous choice of the men to whom he entrusted the administration

and, in certain instances, the most precious interests of the country; and that in spite of his extraordinary merits and his brilliant parts, he seemed by nature averse to co-operation with men both honest and able; so that he alienated every single outstanding personality in Greece and allowed himself to be surrounded, and his fame to be overcast, by a cloud of shady characters and undesirable associates. This is but moderately stated.

It was with equal moderation that I referred in my article (now criticised by Mr. Tsamados) to certain members of Mr. Venizelos's last and longest Cabinet. I said that one of them was twice a bankrupt and that another was notorious as the champion jobber in Greece—he actually transacted business by the rule of a tariff of his own. I had refrained from speaking of the peculiar proclivities of a third, who was thus a person to be avoided; and of a fourth, who, in order to provide a dowry (according to the admirable family traditions in Greece) for a poor niece, smuggled through a shipment of salt fish at a time when food was strictly rationed.

In defense of the deplorable maladministration by these men, Mr. Tsamados has nothing to say. On the contrary, he admits that "it is indeed true" that several illegal and arbitrary things took place—they were "untoward things." But the excuse advanced is the classic one of all arbitrary administrations—"raison d'état." So also of the cruel assassination of my brilliant and regretted young friend, Ion Dragonnus, who "happened to make himself conspicuous" and was "unfortunately killed." Now it has been proved to the hilt that he had given no provocation whatever, and that he was foully butchered in cold blood. As regards that common criminal Gyparis, who had been made chief of the "Sûreté" (secret service), and who befouled by his presence Mr. Venizelos's departure party from Athens, Mr. Tsamados remains prudently silent.

I will spare him the recital of certain other incidents as numerous as they were tragic. But when he falls back upon the well-worn and now transparently deceptive excuse that Mr. Venizelos was defeated at the elections because he had "wearied

the people of Greece, and the strain of ten years of continual mobilization was too great for them"—when his last line of defense is this untenable argument—he virtually gives up his case. In November, 1920, the people of Greece had been under arms for eight, not ten, years, as they are now. Yet there was then, and there is now, no protest or outcry to speak of, no weariness more manifest than in other Eu-

ropean countries engaged in war for much shorter periods than the Greeks. And it will be recorded in history, to the lasting glory of this wonderful people, that after ten consecutive years of struggle and untold sacrifice, they are still ready to continue the struggle and to make the sacrifices necessary for the liberation of Hellenism.

*Washington, D. C., June 14, 1922.*

## ANTIQUATED FINANCE IN FRANCE

By ETHEL BOGHER

**T**O the American visitor in France it would seem that before she can hope for recognition by the great commercial nations as an equal partner in international business France must look to the ways and means of her own every-day affairs.

At his very entry into the country the traveler is irritated and handicapped by the lack of a unified coinage. If he lands at Havre, for example, and goes straight on to Paris, as the great majority of Americans do, he finds that his Paris cabby refuses to accept the francs he was at such pains to buy from the purser of the French boat on which he crossed. The money is of no value in Paris, he is told; it is used only at Havre and in the Department to which Havre belongs, Calvados. The francs have been issued by the Chambers of Commerce of Caen, Havre and Honfleur, and the traveler must get them exchanged at his bank for Paris currency, which is the only money accepted everywhere in France. Each Department is a different "pays," and the various Chambers of Commerce in these little "countries" coin money for local use.

In spite of the intense devotion to France against a common enemy, the sense there is in most Frenchmen of belonging first of all to one's own little corner of France probably explains in part how so medieval a usage as the customs that circle Paris has managed to survive the Revolution. If one goes into Paris from Neuilly-sur-Seine, a rich and important suburb with some 55,000 inhabitants, at the very gates

of Paris and connected with Parisian life every minute of the day, one must pay two francs toll for his taxi to go and return, three francs if there is luggage, and must be ready to open his trunk for inspection. In the old fortifications that surround Paris there are three important gates that lead to the west, to Neuilly. They are the Porte de Neuilly, Porte des Ternes and Porte Champerret. At each one of these gates from five to eight men are seen constantly on duty during the day, and a smaller number at night. In addition to the time and pay for all the customs guards that surround Paris, the loss in time to the community is enormous, as every vehicle except the street cars must stop for at least a casual inspection and the purchase or showing of toll tickets.

The shortage of small money in France, caused in part by the high price of silver and other metal, has put the postage stamp into circulation as a medium of exchange. At the large stores the purchaser when given change receives stamps in a small waxed, transparent envelope bearing the name of the store, or framed in round aluminum disks, glazed, and advertising "Spidoline," an oil for automobiles. In the small shops five, ten and twenty-five centime stamps, naked, dirty and unashamed, are tendered as a matter of course.

In the large shops the system that makes a bundle wrapper of the salesman or woman, with the attendant loss of time to buyer and seller, is amazing to the Ameri-

can. When an article is bought, the salesman requests the purchaser to accompany him to the desk where payment is made, and which may be some little distance from his counter. Here the bookkeeper enters in his book the details of the transaction, and makes change. Meanwhile the salesman leaves his counter unattended while wrapping the parcel. Often four or five salesmen, each with his customer, will wait their turns at the desk of the same bookkeeper.

The bookkeeping habit is very prevalent in Paris. At the theatre, at the cinema, there is not only the seller of tickets but, close by, is the bookkeeper who enters their details in his ledger. One might almost say that it takes two men in Paris to a job—one to do the work and one to keep account of the doing.

The banking system and the lack of it appear to the American traveler to be a very serious handicap to French commerce. If one has an account at the *Credit Lyonnais*, to give an example of the loss of time involved in the simple matter of drawing against one's own account, he is given a specific number of blank checks, though he may have any number he requests, each bearing his name printed in full. When drawing money he not only makes the check out to himself, but he must endorse it according to a set formula which includes the date and his address. This check is then presented at a certain desk and a numbered slip is given in return, to be turned in at another desk when that number is called. It is usually necessary to wait from twenty minutes to half an hour before the number is called and the money counted out, and then it is usually tendered in bills of the largest possible denomination, which are changed under protest. Across the street at the *Guaranty Trust Company*, and at other American, English and Canadian banks, one presents his check and receives his money without loss of time, as he would in America.

Outside the larger towns of France, however, one finds many flourishing com-

munities with no banks at all. Villers-sur-Mer, a fishing village on the Normandy coast that has grown into a Summer resort with many handsome villas, a number of hotels, shops of all kinds, and surrounded by a rich farming country, carries on its affairs with ready money! Hotel keepers, shopkeepers, farmers and fishermen all trade with dirty, worn-out francs, a few copper or nickel centimes and postage stamps!

At Villers, American Express checks could not be cashed and it was necessary to go to Trouville or Dauville, some miles away, to find a bank. One learns that the French traveler either carries on his person ready money enough to finance his holiday, or has it sent to him in cash from time to time by registered mail. If he wishes to cash a check on one of the French banks, he must often wait several weeks, one is told, before the amount is verified and the money secured. And this although he may be no further from Paris than the Normandy coast, four hours by train. Anything corresponding to New York Exchange or American Express checks is unknown to the French holiday seeker. The reason given for the difficulty in cashing checks is that there is much fraud perpetrated, and that French law affords little protection.

At the root of this matter of money, of endless surveillance, of internal customs, the foreigner senses among the French a keen suspicion of one another; of jealously guarded individual, town and departmental rights, as against national interests. The man who puts a circle of guards around his city and walls it in against the neighbor who speaks his own tongue, exacting toll for the products brought from across the road, who will not trust his money to his neighbor's bank, who, when he puts one man to work employs another to watch him, is not apt to be blessed with a broad vision in international business; nor is a nation which perpetuates internal customs and lacks a unified coinage apt to be very alert to the commercial needs of the twentieth cen-

# A GREEK DEFENSE OF FRANCE

By N. J. CASSAVETES

Vice President of the League of Friends of Greece  
in America

*To the Editor of Current History:*

THE letter from Mr. Soterios Nicholson in the June CURRENT HISTORY has caused considerable disappointment to all thoughtful Greeks, who fail to attribute such a value to the Treaty of Rapallo as he does. Mr. Nicholson thinks that the Russo-German Treaty "is the most valuable gift of the World War to humanity." From the context it is made clear that he thinks so because that treaty was aimed primarily at France.

In the estimation of all thoughtful men, a craving for the chastisement of France by Germany and Bolshevik Russia constitutes a blasphemy against the highest ideals of humanity. French policy in the Near East may have blundered—it certainly has erred grievously. But is it just, is it correct, to condemn France to Russo-German revenge on account of one error, forgetting the incomparable services the French Nation has rendered to the world?

Would there have been democracy today in Europe without the French Revolution? Would there have been today a free Greece without the noble help France gave to the plighted Greeks at Navarino? Does Mr. Nicholson know of the voices of Victor Hugo, Lamartine and Cheateaubriand for Greek independence? Does he ignore General Maison's expedition in the Peloponnesus to drive out Ibrahim Pasha's barbarous butchers of Greeks? Did not France stand by Greece at London and at Bucharest in 1913? Was it not Mr. Poincaré himself who instructed Mr. Jules Cambon to insist upon the union of Northern Epirus with Greece, when Sir Edward Grey, in order to please Italy, delivered that Greek province to Albania? At the Peace Conference did not M. Clemenceau and M. Tardieu fight desperately for the union of Northern Epirus and Thrace with Greece? Did not the French help the Greeks until November, 1920? All these services to Greece and to humanity Mr. Nicholson desires to have us ignore in his passion against the mistaken policy in Asia Minor.

Surely, the French diplomats have erred in choosing to champion Turkey's ambitions in Asia Minor. But the Greeks are in no small degree responsible for the unfortunate displeasure of French opinion with the Greek people. Since 1920 a foolish campaign of vilification of France has been going on in certain Greek quarters. The sensitive nature of the French has been wounded. Only one portion of the Greek Nation is still speaking and writing with sympathy and friendliness of the French people. Had responsible quarters in Greece sought to enlighten French diplomacy, instead of vilifying it; to convince the French people that the Greeks were grateful to France and loyal to her, instead of strengthening the unfounded suspicions that they were ever friends of the Germans, French diplomacy and French public opinion would have long ago retraced their paths to the traditional friendship which had made France a veritable protector of Greece and Greece a loyal supporter of French ideals and commerce in the Near East.

No thoughtful Greek can permit himself to attack France or to wish for an abatement of French power and prestige and the aggrandizement of Russo-German power. We may criticise certain policies of France which we believe to be unworthy of the spirit and of the very interests of France. We may expose the incorrectness of French policy in the Near East. But we must not forget the debt that the entire civilized world owes to valiant and democratic France.

We must appeal to the intelligence and the humanity of the liberty-loving French people for the correction of the wrong French policy in Asia Minor. I am sure the French Nation will soon correct that policy. But it is an immoral thing for any liberty-loving person, especially one of Greek extraction, to wish ill to France, to declare that the Rapallo Treaty "is the most valuable gift of the World War to humanity." For shame!

713 Walnut Street, Philadelphia, Pa., June 12, 1922.



# THE IDES OF MARCH IN INDIA

By BEN MISRA\*

*A disciple of Gandhi tells what caused the weaponless revolt in India, and how the movement reached a climax in the imprisonment of its leader—Popular feeling too deep to be suppressed.*

*When I am deported or even executed, the eyes of the whole world will be opened to the enormity of the wrong, but not till then.—Mahatma Gandhi.*

THE Government of Lord Reading enacted the Ides of March in India when, on March 10, 1922, it arrested Mahatma Gandhi, the leader of the non-co-operation movement, and on March 18 sentenced him to six years' imprisonment.

Gandhi's arrest could surprise no one who had watched the progress of events in India. At the inception of the non-co-operation movement Lord Chelmsford, the Viceroy of India at the time, issued a communiqué, solemnly declaring that so long as the movement remained non-violent it would be immune from repression on the part of the Government. His Lordship, in issuing this communiqué, was under the impression that the necessity of repression would never arise, as the movement was bound to die a natural death for want of adequate support. Nor did his Lordship stand alone in this belief. The majority of the people, Indians and Anglo-Indians alike, held the same view, and ridiculed or shrugged their shoulders according to their individual temperaments. "Gandhi is a crazy, unbalanced

idealist, whose airy-fairy theories and dogmas can never amount to much," they argued.

But Gandhi was no "child in politics," as his critics had held. "He can mold heroes out of clay," the Honorable Mr. Gokhale said of him once, and Gandhi's record in South Africa and India proves this to be true. Mahatma Gandhi, judged in the light of popular acclaim, is the most successful statesman India has produced since the days of Lord Krishna. The movement initiated by this man of pure and godly life made steady headway against both the indifference of friends and the ridicule of foes, and soon became a vital issue before the country, as the sole means whereby India could protect her honor and make her voice heard in the council chamber of nations. The special session of the Indian National Congress, held in Calcutta on Sept. 8, 1920, under the Presidency of Mr. Lajpat Rai, adopted Gandhi's "non-co-operative" program as a national policy. Title

\*Ben Misra is a member of a distinguished Brahman family prominent in the public life of India. His uncle, Pandit Gokaran Nath Misra, was formerly Secretary of the Indian National Congress. While in India Ben Misra came into contact with all the prominent Nationalist leaders, and had ample opportunity to gain the fullest knowledge of what the movement of non-co-operation portends.

## WHAT IS GANDHI? A MERE PHENOMENON.

Personalities pass; ideas remain. Men of genius are born, make a whirlwind revolution in their field of activity, and pass away. But their ideas, that for which they lived and died, are left behind, a heritage to humanity, to mold the minds of the generations unborn. Jesus and Buddha and Krishna; Socrates and Bruno and Lincoln passed, but their ideas permeated the world, and registered the advance of human thought, the progress of world civilization.

holders were to give up their titles, students their studies in Government institutions and lawyers their practice in British courts. The Montagu reforms were to be summarily rejected as falling far below the demands of the country; merchants and traders were to carry out a gradual boycott of foreign trade relations, and everybody was to take to home-spinning and hand-weaving, looking to himself for the salvation of his country, instead of pinning faith in the professions of the politician, which invariably crystallized into a policy of small concession and strong repression.

The resolution adopted by the National Congress gave authority to the infant movement, and it spread so swiftly that it surprised the skeptics and converted them into staunch supporters. New and influential friends daily flocked to its standard. Those who began with ridicule ended with joining the ranks. The Calcutta resolutions were carried out with zeal, until the time came for the annual session of the Congress to be held in Nagpur in the last week of December, 1920. Here Mahatma Gandhi's amendment to the Congress's Constitution declaring its object to be the attainment of swaraj [self-determination] by the people of India by all legitimate and peaceful means, and eliminating the former proviso, "within the British Empire," was passed by acclamation, only two persons out of 30,000 dissenting. A resolution was also adopted to boycott the forthcoming visit of the Duke of Connaught to inaugurate the new reforms at Delhi.

#### HINDU-MOSLEM UNITY

The process of Hindu-Moslem unity, indispensable for national unity, had found its beginning at the Delhi Congress in 1918, when Pandit Malaviya declared from the Presidential chair that however much it might pain him as a Hindu to witness cow-killing, as an Indian he would not fight with the Moslems on that account, but would embrace them in brotherly love. This process was now carried to the point of fusion. Hindus and Moslems both saw clearly that they had been tricked and manipulated like children over the question of cow-killing. "Truce to this tomfoolery," they said to each other,

and resolved to "hang together" if they were not to hang separately.

Redress of the Punjab wrongs,\* settlement of the Caliphate question† and swaraj within a year became the national war cry. Students left their studies to an extent that caused grave concern to the Chancellors of Government universities. Lawyers gave up their practice, and advocates who hesitated were abandoned by their clients. More and more merchants signed the contract not to deal in foreign cloth; to appear in homespun became the fashion of the day, and the country was humming with the music of the spinning wheel. Hindus repented of their aristocratic caste exclusiveness and reached out the hand of fellowship to the "untouchables." National volunteers carried on a vigorous picketing crusade against Government schools and against the liquor and opium traffic, and huge bonfires of discarded foreign clothing lit the cross-roads on important occasions.‡ In less than a year the country was pulsating with new life, new vision, new hope and, panoplied in the armor of non-violence "in thought, word and deed," prepared itself calmly to receive the bureaucratic onslaught.

The visit of the Duke of Connaught to open the "Advisory Assembly" at Delhi on Feb. 8, 1921, was the first test of the

\*This refers to the "massacre" of some 300 natives in 1919 at Amritsar, in the Punjab Province, by forces under the command of General Dyer. Local trouble interpreted as a beginning of a serious uprising led General Dyer to open fire on a large body of Indians assembled at Amritsar to debate the issue. After an investigation, General Dyer was retired from service with a severe reproof, but the praises showered on him in the British Parliament and in the British press, and the purse raised for him by public subscription, combined with the fact that his superior, Sir Michael O'Dwyer, Governor of the Punjab, received no punishment, have long rankled in the mind of the Indian people, who have never ceased to resent, particularly, the famous order of General Dyer forcing the natives who passed by the scene of the "uprising" to crawl by on their hands and knees.

†India entered the World War on the allied side after receiving express pledges that the Turkish Empire would not be dismembered after the war, and that the position of the Sultan as Caliph, or religious leader of all Mohammedans, would not be impaired. Both promises have been broken, and the occupation of Constantinople by an interallied force, reducing the Sultan's power to a mere shadow, has reacted strongly on Mohammedans the world over, and nowhere more strongly than in India. Lord Reading's telegram to the India Office in London showed how dangerous Mohammedan discontent, under the guidance of Gandhi, had become to the British Indian Government.

‡The first bonfire of foreign clothing was made in Bombay by Mahatma Gandhi on July 31, 1921.

solidarity of the Congress program. The country as a whole remained true to its policy of boycotting the visit, and his Royal Highness was deeply impressed by the thoroughness of organization and by the fact that he had to pass through empty streets. To avoid misunderstanding, Mahatma Gandhi addressed an open letter to the Duke, the following excerpts from which are of special import today:

We are not at war with individual Englishmen. We seek not to destroy English life. *We do desire to destroy the system that has emasculated our country in body, mind and soul.* We are determined to battle with all our might against that element in English nature which has made O'Dwyerism and Dyerism possible in the Punjab, and has resulted in wanton affront upon Islam, a faith professed by 70,000,000 of our countrymen. \* \* \* *We are at war with nothing that is good in the world. In protecting Islam as we do, we are protecting all religions; in protecting the honor of India we are protecting the honor of humanity, for our means are hurtful to none.*

#### LORD READING'S EFFORTS VAIN

A superabundance of militant spirit had marred the reign of Lord Chelmsford and sunk the fair fame of Britain into those bloody bogs from which none but the perpetrators themselves thought it could be picked up unsullied. There had been several instances of gross travesty of justice, which even the apologists found it hard to defend. Lord Chelmsford as Viceroy was recalled, and his successor, Lord Reading, arrived in Bombay on April 2, 1921. Lord Reading was determined to redeem the Administration as far as was possible and assuage the ruffled Indian spirit by the adoption of a mild and conciliatory policy. His pledges to this effect, and his assurance that he would give justice to India, were at first accepted at their face value and made a distinct impression.

Matters had already come to such a pass, however, that the situation was well-nigh beyond control. Hindu-Moslem unity had left little room for the further application of the maxim, "Divide and rule." Mahatma Gandhi's repeated pronouncements, all to the same effect, "This godless satanic bureaucracy, we will end it, if we cannot mend it," were undermining the foundations of the empire. The magic of imperial prestige had vanished; sedition had become the avowed creed of the National Congress, and the country was

steadily and firmly treading the path of "non-violent non-co-operation."

Lord Reading could not, of course, stand by and watch India slip out of the empire. Nor was it politic to revert openly to the desperate measures of the last Administration in utter defiance of world opinion. His Lordship played his cards with tact and judgment, considerately and with scrupulous discrimination. He once more resorted to the time-honored policy of "divide and rule"—but with a difference. He left the leaders untouched to keep up a show of mildness, but for the rank and file there was hardly any escape. They had to bear the full brunt of the battle. This was undoubtedly meant to create a breach between the leaders and the masses and render the former powerless by depriving them of their following. But the policy did not work. The public welcomed assault and arrest, and the road to prison became synonymous with the road to liberty.

The next logical step was, therefore, to arrest the leaders and to bring the loyalist forces of the country into prominent relief against the ominous waves of sedition and disloyalty engulfing the land. The Ali brothers, the foremost Moslem leaders, were consequently arrested on a charge of tampering with the loyalty of his Majesty's Indian troops, and his Royal Highness, the Prince of Wales, whose customary visit had been twice postponed, was brought into the country in the hope that the magic lure of royalty would yet save the day and prove instrumental in restoring the waning imperial prestige.

#### PRINCE'S VISIT A CHALLENGE

Did it settle the problem? On the contrary, it complicated it. This was again the traditional policy of "divide and rule," in principle as well as in practice, backed as usual by the mailed fist. The visit of the Prince was a rallying cry to the loyalist elements of the country on the one hand and a direct and defying challenge to Gandhism to do its worst on the other. The non-co-operators took up the challenge with delight. Through the efforts of the National Volunteers' Corps the landing of the Prince was observed as a day of "hartal" [day of mourning]. The Calcutta Volunteers in particular



made themselves so conspicuous by their efficiency of organization, and the resentment against the royal visit was so pronounced throughout the length and breadth of the country, that the volunteer association was promptly declared illegal. Wholesale arrests of volunteers and leaders were effected in the hope of securing a calm atmosphere. Calcutta alone had 5,209 arrests to its credit. The Seditious Meetings act and the Criminal Law Amendment act came upon the country in full force. The Indian National Congress, with a record of thirty-six years behind it, was declared an unlawful assembly, and leading Congressmen all over the country, including Mr. C. R. Das, the President-elect, and Messrs. M. L. Nehru and Lajpat Rai, former Presidents, were clapped in jail.

Nothing daunted, the volunteer organization grew by leaps and bounds. The Congress met in Ahmedabad at the usual time, despite the Government orders. A small section of the country was clamoring for the immediate declaration of an independent republic, but Mahatma Gandhi carried the day by an overwhelming majority. In view of the impending arrest of a large number of workers, the Congress appointed Gandhi as the sole executive authority, with the important reservations that neither he nor his successors, in case of emergency, could conclude any terms of peace with the Government, nor could they in any case alter the present creed, except with the explicit consent of the Congress.

The main resolution of the Congress confirmed the resolution adopted at the Calcutta session and reaffirmed at Nagpur, and placed on record "its firm determination to continue the program of non-violent non-co-operation with greater vigor than before \* \* \* till the Punjab and Khilafat (Caliphate) wrongs are righted \* \* \*, swaraj established and the control of the Government of India passes from the hands of an irresponsible corporation into those of the Indian people." The Congress also appealed "to all quietly and without any demonstration to offer themselves for arrest by belonging to the volunteer organizations" and by signing the pledge to

observe the Congress creed in all its phases.

The civil disobedience resolution, designating civil disobedience as "the only civilized and effective substitute for an armed rebellion whenever every other remedy for preventing arbitrary, tyrannical and emasculating use of authority by individuals or corporations has been tried," was moved by Mahatma Gandhi himself, who said in part:

This resolution is not an arrogant challenge to anybody, but is a challenge to the authority which is enthroned on arrogance, and which disregards the considered opinion of millions of thinking human beings. It is a humble yet irrevocable challenge to the authority which, in order to save itself, seeks to crush freedom of opinion and freedom of association, the two lungs that are absolutely necessary to enable a man to breathe the oxygen of liberty. And if there is any authority in this country that wants to curb freedom of speech and freedom of association, I wish to be able to say in your name from this platform that that authority will fall, and will have to repent before an India that is steeled with high courage and noble purpose, and determined to carry on the battle, if need be, until every man and woman who choose to call themselves Indian are swept from the face of the earth. That is our resolve. It combines firmness, strength and humanity.

#### CONCILIATION EFFORT FAILS

This was the situation at the close of the year 1921. The Moderates now thought it high time to intervene. They felt anxious to bring about a round-table conference between all parties and the Government, so that a compromise might be reached and all hostilities stopped. With this end in view, they held a conference in Bombay on Jan. 14 and 15. Mahatma Gandhi attended in his individual capacity and agreed to suspend all picketing, including that of liquor shops; to advise the Working Committee to postpone mass civil disobedience, and further to advise the committee in the event of the conference coming off, to suspend all hartals pending the conference. Moreover, in order that all might approach the conference with perfect knowledge of the Congress demands, he laid all the cards on the table and reiterated all the Nationalist claims regarding the Khilafat, the Punjab and swaraj. These claims, as explained by him, were as follows:

1. Full restoration to the Turks of Constantinople, Adrianople and Anatolia, in-



cluding Smyrna and Thrace. Complete withdrawal of non-Moslem influence from Arabia, Mesopotamia, Palestine and Syria, and therefore withdrawal of British troops, whether English or Indian, from all Moslem territories.

2. Full enforcement of the report of the Congress's sub-committee and, therefore, stoppage of the pensions of Sir Michael O'Dwyer, General Dyer and other officers named in the report for dismissal.

3. Swaraj means, in the event that the foregoing demands are granted, full dominion status. The scheme of such swaraj shall be framed by duly-elected representatives in the terms of the Congress Constitution. That means "four-anna" franchise. Every Indian adult, male or female, paying four annas and signing the Congress creed, will be entitled to be placed on the electoral list. These electors shall elect delegates who will frame a swaraj Constitution. This Constitution shall then become effective without change by the British Parliament.

With regard to the Caliphate question, Gandhi wrote: "I have heard it urged that on the Caliphate the Imperial Government is powerless. I should like to be convinced of this. In that case, and if the Imperial Government makes common cause with the Mussulmans of India, I should be quite satisfied, and, with the Imperial Government's genuine assistance, would take the chance of convincing the other powers of the justice of the Caliphate claim."

The Government of India, however, "summarily rejected" the conference proposal, in spite of all the efforts of the Moderates, and continued its policy of "virulent repression" unmodified. Perhaps Mahatma Gandhi himself appreciated the difficulties of the Government in agreeing to a conference when he wrote to the Moderates: "He (Lord Reading) need not call a round-table conference. The more I think of it the clearer it becomes to me that he cannot call the conference; but he can easily adopt my suggestions, if he wishes to."

These suggestions were embodied in a letter he wrote to Lord Reading on Feb. 1: "What I now ask against the total suspension of civil disobedience of an aggressive character is merely the stop-

page of ruthless repression, the release of prisoners convicted under this method and a clear declaration of policy." Unfortunately for both the country and the Government, the matter never progressed beyond the exchange of diplomatic correspondence between Mahatma Gandhi and the Government.

#### ARREST OF GANDHI

Though Lord Reading found himself unable either to accept the Moderates' proposal of the round-table conference, or to accede to the suggestions of Mahatma Gandhi, he did, as is now well known, send a dispatch to England urging the adoption of that part of the National demands which dealt with the Caliphate question. But here again it is interesting to note that this move was only a repetition of the policy of "divide and rule." What the Government of India really intended was to detach the Mohammedans from the Hindus, and thereby deal a deathblow to the irrepressible demand for swaraj. But the powers that be ordained otherwise.

The publication of the fateful dispatch only hastened the Ides of March. "It came as a bolt from the blue," we are told, "on the eve of the Near East Conference in Paris, and has had its effect on the position of Lord Reading as Viceroy of India, of Lord Curzon as Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and even on the Premiership of Mr. Lloyd George." It also led directly to the forced resignation of Mr. Montagu, the Indian Secretary.

Lord Reading, however, proved himself a shrewd politician. He saw which way the wind was blowing, and steered his course accordingly. The dispatch was published on March 8. Mr. Montagu was forced to resign on March 9, and on March 10 the Government of Lord Reading arrested Mahatma Gandhi, who had been the root of the whole affair, and after a week's deliberation sentenced him to six years' imprisonment. Thus ended the Ides of March in India.

A wondering world is asking today: "What next in India? Now that the one man that had kept violence in check, on the one hand, and challenged bureaucratic supremacy on the other, has been clapped

into jail, which way will India drift?" In politics, more than in any other domain, things are not what they seem, and none may venture to speak of futurity with definiteness. But students of the Indian situation are one at least in the belief that the movement will not come to a dead stop.

#### INDIA'S UNYIELDING SPIRIT

One or two instances will suffice to reveal the intensity of the Indian feeling and its unconquerable nature. Mr. S. E. Stokes, American by birth, but Indian by naturalization, was imprisoned for espousing the cause of the country of his adoption and kept in the European ward by virtue of his birth and color. Against this he solemnly protested, saying he felt most uncomfortable in the midst of ordinary felons who were hostile to Indian aspirations, and expressed a strong desire to have Indian jail food and sleep on the ground and do other things which Indians in similar circumstances were made to do. He did not care for the physical comforts available in the European ward and declared he wanted an Indian atmosphere for his soul.

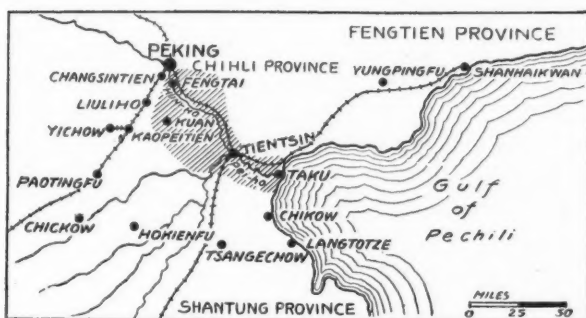
Another gentleman, Mr. Bhagwan Das, an Indian philosopher of distinction, was sentenced to one year's imprisonment, but later, perhaps owing to the good offices of his loyalist friends, was unconditionally released. Did he welcome the release? He looked extremely distressed and refused to go home. In a letter to the press he said the Government had hurt him much more painfully by sending him out of jail that way than by putting him into it. Substantially his offense was exactly as bad as that of thousands of his companions confined in jails. In some cases theirs was less serious than his. He expressed his resolve to stay away from home for the full period of the year to which he had been sentenced, observing as far as possible the jail régime, doing peaceful Congress work and prepared to go to prison again without notice and without feeling, as if he had not been out of it.

What can you do with a determination so intense and universal, so strong and unflinching, so heroic, so uncompromising? Call it fanaticism or madness, if

you will. Mock it as the child's cry for the moon. But it is futile to expect that a resolve so grim, a zeal so unflagging, a martyrdom so absolute, will vanish into nothingness at the magic touch of the iron hand. "Coercion," as Mr. Barnard Houghton says in a recent issue of the *London Nation*, "welds the whole people into one man, and that a foeman." Thus, if any one thing is certain, it is that this movement will go on unabated.

Whether the country will remain non-violent or drift away from its moorings into the channels of anarchy and bloodshed is indeed problematic. There are still non-co-operation leaders of unquestioned ability and foresight, like Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, N. C. Kelkar and Moti Lal Ghosh, for instance, who will prevent a collapse. A village here and a community there freed from the restraining influence of Mahatma Gandhi may get out of their hands and indulge in mob violence, or the very thought of the sufferings and sacrifices entailed on the great leader may determine all never again to lapse from the path laid down by him. Both eventualities are possible, though the odds are decidedly in favor of non-violence. Be that as it may, the country as a whole, and the Indian National Congress, as its resolutions affirm, can in no case be expected to discard their creed of non-violent non-co-operation.

What is Gandhi? A mere phenomenon. Personalities pass; ideas remain. Men of genius are born, make a whirlwind revolution in their field of activity and pass away. But their ideas, that for which they lived and died, are left behind, a heritage to humanity, to mold the minds of the generations unborn. Jesus and Buddha and Krishna, Socrates and Bruno and Lincoln passed, but their ideas permeated the world, and registered the advance of human thought, the progress of world civilization. What if Gandhi is clapped into jail? What if, in days to come, he is even nailed to the cross or burned at the stake, in the traditional way of prophets and saints? His ideas and ideals will still guide, control, uplift, broaden and humanize humanity itself till untruth is conquered by truth, hatred by love, tyranny and oppression by suffering and sacrifice.



Shaded area indicates the scene of Wu Pei-fu's victory in China. The defeated troops of Chang Tso-lin fled through Tientsin back to their homes in Fengtien and Manchuria.

# WHAT WAR IS LIKE IN CHINA

By BERT L. KUHN

*An American eyewitness describes the first real battle fought in China since the rise of the republic—Frenzied flight of the Manchurian forces before Wu Pei-fu—Incidents of the retreat*

IT could happen only in China, a land where all the usual order of things seems to have been reversed at the very beginning of time, and to have continued much in the same fashion, despite the considerably over-advertised inroads of Western civilization. The time was Spring, 1922, and the springtime had brought with it a perennial drama known to China ever since the overthrow of the dragon empire—civil war. Two great armies—each was really great at the outset—opposed each other in what loomed as an epic struggle. In eight days' time the war, or at least that part of it which would count for real warfare, judged by Occidental standards, was won and lost. Those eight days form a jumble of incongruities, a record of heroic foolhardiness on the part of individuals and organizations, and of pitiful mismanagement and misdirection of supplies and forces, which, in many respects, is of truly Homeric flavor.

The situation was briefly as follows: General Chang Tso-lin, Military Governor of the three rich northeastern provinces of Manchuria, with headquarters at Mukden, had decided to open war on General Wu Pei-fu, Inspector General and Tuchun of the provinces of Hunan and Hupeh. Wu was the leader of the faction of Chihli Province, in which Peking itself is situ-

ated, a super-patriot out for reform of the Peking Government, and the out-and-out enemy of Chang, as the opposer of reform and reunification of the country. Chang, after allying himself with Sun Yat-sen, President of the Southern Government at Canton, prepared for a test of strength with Wu Pei-fu by moving his troops inside the great wall from Mukden and on into Chihli and toward Peking. The forces of Wu moved forward to oppose the Manchurian troops, and a decisive battle was fought at Changsintien, a few miles from Peking.

When hostilities became imminent, the average foreigner in China looked on with humorous scorn. "Just another 'Chinese war,'" was the comment heard upon all sides; "Chinese soldiers never really fight." This attitude was partly justified by the behavior of the Chinese soldiery in the previous succession of petty civil wars which had kept China in turmoil almost constantly since 1912. The usual procedure had been to exchange highly vituperative notes and fire a few shots in the air, after which one army—or both—would retreat a few miles, arrange for a respite of an hour or so, inasmuch as tea-time was nearing, and, finally, after an exchange of apologies and regrets, call it a day. Sometimes there was another such

battle the following day; sometimes there was not.

The most recent war, however, was different. Foreign military observers, men who had witnessed a score of internal disturbances in China, were unanimous in their opinion that the eight days' conflict was by far the most bitterly waged of all of which they had personal knowledge.

"They're really playing marbles for keeps now." This typically American remark, made by one of the members of our party as we first looked on at the opening day's engagement at Changsintien, seventeen miles from Peking, summed up the situation exactly. Eight of us had gone down to Changsintien. On starting, we were of the same mind. In Peking we had heard the sounds of guns echoing from the western hills. American military observers had reported severe fighting all up and down the 100-mile line which followed the valley of the Hun River. But with a cynicism born of an endless series of disproved rumors and reports we had insisted on taking the full discount usual on all reports in China.

For a period of a little more than an hour after we left Peking, during which time our column of Fords bounced over roads which never were roads, we believed we were right. We heard no sound of guns. Men, women and children worked peacefully in the fields. In the villages half-clad groups stared at us quite as complacently as Chinese always do. We saw, in all, five soldiers, and these seemed in no particular hurry to get anywhere.

At Liukuchao, four miles from the actual battlefront of the day, we came upon the first hint of anything at all martial in its nature. The village itself was as somnolent and peaceful as any of those through which we had previously passed. The open-front stores were apparently conducting business as usual. But over the high road in the centre of a cluster of shops and dwellings swung two balloon-like Chinese lanterns, their surfaces decorated with huge red crosses. This was the outermost Fengtien field hospital station. Two or three wounded had already been brought back. Still there was no booming of guns, no madly fleeing civilian populace, no excited, dashing and careening of troops and supply carts. Ap-

parently we were right. This was to be just another typically Chinese war.

#### SCENES OF REAL WAR

At the edge of the village is the Marco Polo bridge. Conditions here seemed quite as serene as elsewhere. Suddenly, from what seemed to be far to the southwest, came the low booming of a gun. A second later the dull haze hanging over the western hills was parted by a thick, white vapor which curled lazily skyward. There was a war, after all.

We pushed on through the village of Changsintien. There we found the most varied assortment of pack trains ever assembled by any army. On a dust road paralleling the railroad track were supply carts by the thousand. Each was drawn by a mule, an ox and a horse hitched tandem with roughly constructed rope harness. Beside the track, on which giant American-made locomotives chugged forward with long trains of heavily laden freight cars, caravans of hundreds of camels ambled over the sands, their humped backs heavily laden with baskets filled with "foreign-style" bread. In the road and scattered all over the wayside were thousands of troops, infantry, cavalry, light artillery, supply and hospital units. Practically every dwelling and store in the town, with the exception of the American mission station, which remained open for the care of refugees, had been taken over for military purposes of one sort or another.

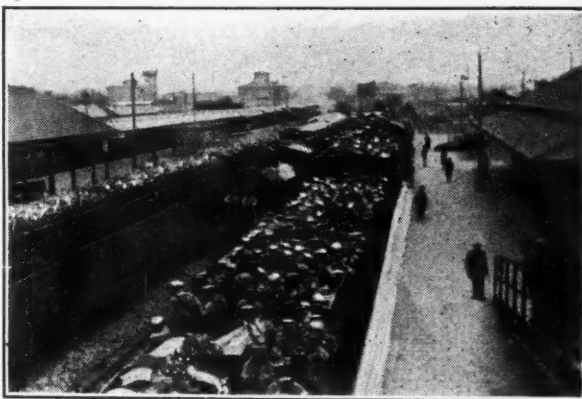
A mile further down the road we had our first sight of the actual battle. The crack of rifles and rattle of machine guns were plainly audible now, a steady accompaniment to the solo shrieking of shells and bass rumbling of cannon. The Fengtien position was on the top of a high sloping ridge. All over the hillside we could see thousands of gray-clad men, spotted about in various places. They were being held in reserve and were shortly to take their positions in the line for the night. None were in ranks. They were sprawled about, lazily, almost apathetically, as though this were merely some innocent bit of fun in which they were to be quite willing but not over-enthusiastic actors.

It all seemed quite unwarlike. Men





Trains of open freight cars crowded with Chang Tso-lin's hungry and fleeing soldiery poured through Tientsin in an almost continuous stream for two days.



Flight of the Feng-tien troops by rail through Tientsin.

loped up and down the hill without any apparent thought of the miniature dust clouds which kept kicking up from the sand all about them. Stretcher-bearers every now and then filed past carrying bloody shells of men—men with ghastly holes torn in them by steel-nosed bullets and shrapnel. Their appearance seemed to evoke not even a show of curiosity in their comrades.

At the brow of the hill, which we reached not without a considerable degree of trepidation, for we soon learned that the entire hillside was under a heavy fire of all sorts, we saw batteries of 6-inch guns stretched in double row across a mile-wide plain. There was no attempt at camou-

flage, no protection for the gunners. Even the usual steel guards were missing from the guns. It was direct fire, for the Chinese artillerymen are not adept at range finding. The opposing Chihli artillery could not have been more than a mile away. Machine-gun and rifle fire raked the plain. Shells shrieked, shrapnel burst. But the gunners stood by unconcerned, even when one of their number dropped, as happened several times before our eyes. Infantry and machine-gun outfits carried on just as calmly. This was war.

#### THE RETREAT OF CHANG

It was exactly five days later that I saw some of these same men on their retreat

through Tientsin, 100 miles to the east. Chang Tso-lin, their Generalissimo, had been down to the lines for the first time that day. He had taken one look. The general retreat followed within two hours.

The trains, as they came through Tientsin during two whole days and nights, were a revelation in the possibilities of overloading. Car after car passed through with two hundred or more men in each. These men had been standing all night; there was no possible way in which they could sit down. Horses—I counted twenty-six in one car—came by, saddled and equipped, their caretakers in many instances riding in the saddles for want of room to stand or sit elsewhere. Guns and supplies of all sorts were cluttered about indiscriminately in the mess. Men, scores of them, hung on the pilots and cowcatchers, between cars, over the sides of cars, wherever they could get a foot or hand hold. These were the very troops which had gone down to the lines, twenty or thirty to a car, and these were the self-same cars.

I was at Tientsin Central Railroad station on the first morning of the retreat. As far down the track as one could see long lines of such cars extended, unable to move because of the congestion which had already asserted itself on the single

track below Tientsin. One of the trains pulled up to the station platform. Before it stopped men were tumbling out of the cars. They carried their rifles slung across their backs, their bayonets still fixed. There was a grand rush up the incline to the bridge over the tracks. Five railway guards, unarmed, stepped out to check it.

"We want food!" the men howled and screamed. "For three days and three nights we have fought. For three whole days we have had no food at all. We want food and we want water."

These men had been at Langfang, which under normal conditions is but one hour and a half from Tientsin by rail. There were food supplies of all sorts at Tientsin, yet these men fought for three days with nothing to eat.

For a time it looked as though the riot had broken. One or two stray shots were fired. They were probably accidental. No one was hit. The chief of the railway guards by bellowing and bulldozing managed to quiet the men. Then big baskets of bread were brought up and thrown to them. Like starved beasts they plunged upon them in a mass. Bayonets ripped the baskets apart, and a thousand clutching fingers tore the loaves into bits. Finally the men returned to their cars.



How General Wu trained his young Chihli soldiers to give them strength and endurance.



One of General Wu Pei-fu's field camps, in which his victorious troops were sheltered

Later, provision was made to pass out tea and hot and cold water as the trains halted at the stations. And there was no repetition of the scene, although many stragglers attempted to leave the stations, and some succeeded.

For hours on end the steady stream kept up. Foreign railroad officials had given up all thought of trying to run anything in the opposite direction. The road had been turned over entirely to the troops. All ordinary safety precautions were forgotten. By late afternoon the turbulent flow had calmed. Trains were coming through from the sector just south of Tientsin, and, illustrative of the general disorganization, one train of sixty cars and two locomotives, in sharp contrast to the overcrowded conditions of the morning, carried less than one hundred men.

#### FRENZIED FLIGHT

Constantly frantic calls for "empties" came from all points along the lines. "By order of Marshal Chang Tso-lin, send three trains of thirty cars each," the first of the series said. "Please send all available equipment as quickly as possible," read the last, and when even this failed, because there were neither cars nor engines available, the forces began moving overland. On foot, on horse, in carts which had been commandeered everywhere, they came through and past Tientsin. Other detachments of thousands of

men, cut off in their retreat, started north through the desert sands in the hope of reaching Kalgan. As the enemy pressed closer and closer terror spread through the Fengtien ranks.

"I am student. Please, we must have locomotive. I speak English. Wu Pei-fu, he come. We have wounded, many wounded. Let us go Mukden. Thank you. God help you. Shall we see you again?"

The speaker was a Fengtien officer of lower rank, a member of one of the last bodies of fleeing troops to come through Tientsin. There were about fifty in the party, all huddled together in one car. Twenty or more were wounded, some of them so badly that they would soon be in need of no further transportation than that which would take them to their graves. An hour before they had heard Wu Pei-fu's guns roaring at Peitsang, six miles away. They were scared; they showed it, and admitted it. Their one desire was to get away, anywhere. Army life had lost its charm completely.

Their car, devoid of an engine, was lying alongside the station platform, where it had been cut loose by a switch engine. A moment before our arrival they had shown signs of using force through sheer animal fright. A locomotive happened to back in on the same track. With hands on their holsters five of the party went up to the cab just as the crew was getting out. A highly



pitched argument in Chinese ensued. When the train crew balked at getting back into the cab, there was a bit of rough handling. But we were foreigners, and our arrival halted that. Nervously fidgeting about, in Chinese and some broken English they tried to explain to us their predicament. They took us to their lone flat car. They showed us their wounded. They must, they said, get through without delay. The foreign traffic master is a big-hearted individual. He got them an engine. He said it would take them as far as Chunliangcheng, fifteen miles east.

"More far, more far, must go more far," they pleaded, almost sobbing in their despair. Two hours later the first trains of the pursuing Chihli army were in Tientsin Central station, three miles down the railroad.

The retreating Fengtien forces, however, were not all frightened to this point of frenzy. Some of them, particularly those who came from the Machang sector, where only a holding attack had been made by Wu Pei-fu's forces, believed even after their return to Tientsin that the flight was but a "strategical move," a clever trap on the part of their leader, Marshal Chang, to draw Wu's men far from their home base at Loyang.

I recall especially one Fengtien staff officer—he was a Captain, I believe, although uniform markings were so many and varied as to baffle attempts on the part of the average foreigner to distinguish rank. I met him that last night in Tientsin. He was at Central station, aboard a long supply train. He sat with his men on the floor of a flat car, quietly munching on a Chinese sort of soggy pancake. Neither he nor his men were in jubilant mood. Yet none had seen the worst at Machang or elsewhere, and there was still somewhat of an air of confidence about them. We joined them in their car and rode to Tientsin East station with them.

"What now?" we asked. "Are you all through fighting?"

The Captain stiffened.

"We shall fight until our last man dies," he answered. But his troops were not overjoyed at the pronouncement.

Within a half hour the Chihli troops were in Tientsin. Their outposts were

already rounding up Fengtien stragglers. And when Wu, General Wu, arrived in his private car, 200 Fengtien prisoners, disarmed and helpless, were lined up before his car for his inspection. Among them I saw, not the Captain, but some of his soldiers. Terror—stark terror—was evident in the demeanor of all. Obviously, they did not know what was going to happen, and in the absence of exact knowledge they feared the worst. Some even dropped to their knees and kowtowed the regulation three times, their heads bumping the station platform as though it were some temple altar.

#### A YOUTHFUL CONQUEROR

The Chihli troops looked on in vast amusement. One ragged youngster—he could not have been over fifteen—chuckled out loud as he moved about with a rifle and fixed bayonet taller than himself.

"Look! Look! Look!" he shouted excitedly in Chinese. "I caught 'em alive; I caught 'em all alive." Then he danced about the platform in full enjoyment of the situation.

General Wu could be seen through the unshaded windows of his private car. He took one look at the prisoners. Then they were led away, to be given new clothing from the stocks captured from the enemy, five silver dollars, garnered by levying on the enemy's banks in Peking, and transportation home. They suffered nothing beyond a few anxious moments, for Wu Pei-fu realized that some day he might need the assistance of these very men.

It is difficult for the foreigner to understand the psychology of Chinese soldiery. These men, terror-stricken prisoners, were of the same calibre as those we had seen going into battle. Then they had seemed heroic, with a tempered sort of heroism. There had been neither the wild shouting which would indicate actual lust for blood nor the fixed gaze indicative of a determination to see the thing through, despite personal inclinations to the contrary. They had gone in—some silent and a bit weary in appearance, others, more by far, with a coarse jest on their lips. They had been completely unconcerned with the bullets splattering



about them and the shrapnel whizzing overhead. Their attitude showed the results of centuries of fatalistic belief. Certain it was that there was no physical fear of death in them.

#### COFFIN PSYCHOLOGY

On the very edge of the battlefield they had passed piles of heavy coffins, new, unvarnished, apparently untenanted coffins. To us these had been grim symbols of what might happen to any of the soon-to-be combatants. But they had passed them by without a quiver. Many had even seemed to register a curious satisfaction as they viewed them.

At the time I asked a Chinese in our party about this. "Any army in China must have them," he said. "It is the first demand of all troops, paramount even to food. For unless the men know that they are to be given a proper burial, that their remains will be sent back to their home provinces and interred in accord with their own ideas, Chinese soldiers will not fight. It is only a natural attitude when one considers the Chinese philosophy of an after life and the care which should be accorded the dead." Some of the coffins, no longer untenanted, were sent back to Mukden. Others, their occupants unidentified and uncared for, still lie in the fields of Chihli.

Who are these men who silently risk death, yet flee panic-stricken after one general reverse? They are mercenaries. Therein lies the key to the paradox. They come from the fields and from the cities' riff-raff, for soldiering in China is by no means a noble occupation. They fight because they are paid to fight, for no

other reason. With defeat, and the probability that there may be no next pay-day, all incentive is gone. They soon become terror-stricken, and are only too willing to desert to the winning side.

With an army such as this, efficiency behind the lines becomes more imperative than ever. Food and supplies must come

regularly and in unstinted measure. Chang Tso-lin's high command was woefully inefficient. He had placed his entire dependence on the Tientsin-Peking Railway. It was his only means of communication with his lines. Yet in all his army there was no central transportation department, no one person to whom the authorities of that railroad could apply for orders. Instead, orders came direct from the divisional commanders. Frequently no orders came at all. Trains were commandeered, used for non-essential purposes, and then abandoned where they were not only useless but, worse still, blocked



GENERAL WU PEI-FU  
A Snapshot of Him in Fighting Garb  
Taken at Paotingfu.

the single-track line for others.

#### CHINESE DISORGANIZATION

In several instances long trains of empty cars were abandoned on tracks beneath water tanks. Other trains, loaded with supplies and troops, would be forced through until their engines had run out of water completely. When the new arrivals attempted to get water they found the track blocked. Frequently it became necessary to send fifty miles for an engine to clear out the empties, so that the engine on the troop train could obtain water. This was a process which might involve four hours. In the meantime the entire line was blocked.

Illustrative of the general disorganiza-

tion prevalent higher up in the Fengtien command is the story told by the lone British Army Lieutenant who was stationed at Laofa, on the Peking-Tientsin Railroad, for the purpose of seeing that the road was kept open in accordance with the terms laid down by the allied powers in the Boxer Protocol of 1901.

When trouble broke out the Lieutenant was sent down from Peking. At Laofa Chang Tso-lin had been detaining large forces of troops for use on the middle front, which he had established some thirty miles to the south along the Hunho. At Laofa, too, is a training camp for the Indian Sikhs employed by the British as their force in China. But aside from being quartered there the Lieutenant had no connection with the Sikh detachment. He was the leader of an army comprising himself solely, which was supposed, if necessary, to adopt any advisable measures to restrain the thousands of Fengtien troops from monopolizing the railway to the entire exclusion of civilian traffic.

"It's a bit lonely out here all by myself," he admitted, "but as for the work, there's no particular difficulty at all. I simply go up to the troops and tell them they can't do it, and they don't."

Then he waxed reminiscent. "I did have rather an odd experience the other day," he said. "One of the Sikhs came up to me at noon and told me that the through passenger train for Tientsin had been held up for half an hour. I went over to see what was wrong. Ordinarily this train doesn't stop here at all, but there is only one track, you know, and when I got up there I found that another train, just an engine and a private car, was standing on the same track, head-on to the passenger train. The private car belonged to some Fengtien official, a General or something of that sort. I went in at once to find out what was wrong. I found him seated at a table, just finishing a letter.

"'You can't do this,' I told him. 'You'll have to move your train off to a siding, so that the passenger train can get through. You've held it up half an hour already.'

"'Just a minute, just a minute,' he answered. 'I shall be through in just a minute.' He turned to his letter and fin-

ished it. Then he explained that it was a very important letter, and that he wished to mail it on the east-bound passenger train. In order to make sure that the train would wait for the letter, he had ordered his own train to block the track."

#### THE EXPLOIT OF THE 1,500

One of the most extraordinary episodes of the whole war, however—an episode for the truth of which I personally vouch—still remains to be told. This story centres about a band of 1,500 soldiers, former Fengtien men, who, but for sheer accident, might have disarmed the whole of Chang Tso-lin's Fengtien army of 110,000 men. For the like of this no precedent can be found in the annals of military history. These 1,500 soldiers—a light brigade one might call them—were originally enrolled under the banner of Chang. This, however, was months before Chang opened hostilities against Wu Pei-fu. Discontent with the Fengtien cause was rife among these fifteen hundred. It reached its climax with the untimely death of their leader, the finger of suspicion pointing to the powers of Mukden (the Manchurian capital of Chang), and the little band was soon in open revolt.

When Chang Tso-lin's forces started their march into Chihli Province and passed through Shanhaikwan, where the fifteen hundred had stationed themselves, they fled to the near-by hills. It was known that they had established an entente with the Chihli forces, but Chang, impressed with the need of hasty organization of his forces in the territory which they were about to take over, had no time to round up the rebels. Quietly they awaited their opportunity to become actors in the war drama. It came with sharp suddenness following the rout of the Fengtien forces near Peking.

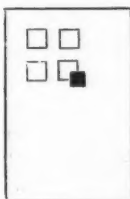
As the great retreat started, and trainload after trainload of Fengtien soldiers jogged through Tientsin and on to the east, word was gotten somehow to the fifteen hundred. Down from the hills they came. Unostentatiously they stationed themselves on both sides of the railroad. The first train of retreating Fengtien soldiers drew near. Fifteen hundred rifles were aimed directly at them, and the com-

mand to throw down their arms followed. The command was obeyed. All arms and supplies were taken. And then the trainload of Fengtien men was sent on east toward Mukden.

A second train came, a third, a fourth. In each instance the scheme worked to perfection, for both telephone and telegraph wires had been cut, and the disarmed enemy ahead had no means of notifying their comrades in the rear.

The fifteen hundred were jubilant.

Without further reinforcements, without the loss of a single man, they were in a fair way to disarm the entire Fengtien army. Then it was that chance asserted itself. Traffic had been piling up along the line between Tientsin and Shanhaikwan. Four Fengtien trains approached, all bunched together. The fifteen hundred found themselves suddenly outnumbered six to one. Wisely, they again took to the hills, and their part in the disarmament of Fengtien had ended.



General Wu's Supply Carts on the Way to the Front.

## CHINA UNDER A NEW GOVERNMENT

[PERIOD ENDED JUNE 10, 1922]

THE political situation in China was slowly clearing at the end of June, and the figures of Li Yuan-hung, the new President of the Republic, and of General Wu Pei-fu were standing out in ever sharper relief as the men on whose efforts reconciliation and reconstruction in China must depend. Li Yuan-hung's assumption of the Presidency at Peking on June 10 was related in the July CURRENT HISTORY (Page 723). It was there stated that one of Li's first official acts was to appoint Dr. Wu Ting-fang, former Chinese Ambassador to the United States and octogenarian Foreign Minister of the Canton régime, as the Premier of the new Central Government, and that Dr. Wu had accepted, thereby leaving Dr. Sun Yat-sen more isolated than before. Li, however, rescinded the mandate on the day it was

issued (June 11), inasmuch as the acceptance of Wu was far from certain. Later developments showed that Wu had remained faithful to Dr. Sun. Barely two weeks later (June 23) the death of Wu Ting-fang, broken-hearted at the fall of Sun, the overthrow of the Canton Government, and the attending bloodshed, was reported from Canton.

The Cabinet finally selected by President Li was as follows:

Dr. W. W. YEN, Premier and Foreign Minister.  
TAN YEN-KAI, Interior.  
General WU PEI-FU, War.  
CHANG KUO-KAN, Commerce.  
HUANG YEN-PEI, Education.  
TUNG KANG, Finance.  
KAO ENG-HUNG, Communications.  
WANG CHUNG-HUI, Justice.  
Admiral LI TING-HSIN, Navy.

Dr. Yen was the Acting Premier and

Foreign Minister under the former Government. The four last named also held portfolios under the preceding régime. Wu Pei-fu declined to accept office, and the Vice Minister of War took charge of the War Department provisionally.

General Wu continued his military effort against General Chang Tso-lin, and after fierce fighting at Shanhaikwan, on the Manchuria-Chihli front, made progress in driving Chang's forces further back toward Manchuria. Chang sued for an armistice, which was arranged on June 16. The three provinces of Manchuria on this date proclaimed their autonomy, naming General Chang as Commander-in-Chief "in connection with a new plan for self-government." A telegram to Peking on June 19 declared that these provinces, despite the proclamation, were willing to join in the work of unification. Hostilities between Wu and Chang had ceased by June 20, and Chang was withdrawing all his forces to Manchuria in accordance with the armistice agreement.

In the south, meantime, a new drama was being enacted. Dr. Sun pronounced against Li Yuan-hung on June 13. His army was advancing north into Kiang-si Province and wealthy residents were fleeing. His quarrel with General Chen Chiung-ming, Military Governor of Canton Province, however, proved fatal, and on June 17 Chen's forces captured Canton. Sun took refuge on one of his warships off the Canton coast, and despite the pleadings of Dr. Wu Ting-fang and the protests of the American Consul, bombarded the unprotected city, killing at least 1,000 people and doing considerable damage to buildings. In Kiang-si Province, meanwhile, some 10,000 soldiers of General Wu Pei-fu, sent against Sun's army, ran amuck and killed thousands of residents, according to Shanghai advices of June 21. Dr. Sun was said to be regaining political and military strength early in July and was resolved to retake Canton. Thus the situation stood at the time these pages went to press.

[Chinese Cartoon]



—The China Review, New York

"ONWARD, CHRISTIAN SOLDIERS!"

[A Cantonese fleeing at the Christian General in Wu Pei-fu's army]



# THE ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATION'S WORK IN 1921

By GEORGE E. VINCENT  
President of the Foundation\*



DR. GEORGE E. VINCENT

**D**URING the year 1921 the Rockefeller Foundation (1) continued a quarter million annual appropriation to the School of Hygiene and Public Health of Johns Hopkins University; (2) pledged two millions to Harvard for a school of health; (3) contributed to public health training in Czechoslovakia, Brazil and the United States; (4) aided the Pasteur Institute of Paris to recruit and train personnel; (5) promoted the cause of nurse training in America and Europe; (6) underwrote an experimental pay clinic in the Cornell Medical School; (7) formally opened a complete modern medical school and hospital in Peking; (8) assisted 25 other medical centres in China; (9) promised a million dollars for the medical school of Columbia University; (10) contracted to appropriate three and one-half millions for the rebuilding and reorganization of the medical school and hospital of the Free University of Brussels; (11) made surveys of medical schools in Japan, China, the Philippines, Indo-China, Straits Settlements, Siam, India, Syria and Turkey; (12) supplied American and British medical journals to 112

*World-wide activities of greatest of all institutions for scientific research—The campaign against yellow fever in Central and South America and against malaria and hookworm in the United States*

medical libraries on the Continent; (13) supplemented the laboratory equipment and supplies of five medical schools in Central Europe; (14) defrayed the expenses of commissions from Great Britain, Belgium, Serbia and Brazil; (15) provided 157 fellowships in hygiene, medicine, physics and chemistry to representatives of 18 countries; (16) continued a campaign against yellow fever in Mexico, Central and South America; (17) prosecuted demonstrations in the control of malaria in ten States; (18) co-operated in hookworm work in 19 governmental areas; (19) participated in rural health demonstrations in 77 American counties and in Brazil; (20) neared the goal of transferring to French agencies an anti-tuberculosis organization in France; (21) provided experts in medical education and public health for counsel and surveys in many parts of the world, and rendered sundry minor services to Governments and voluntary societies. These things were done in part by the Founda-

\*A detailed report by Dr. Vincent of the Foundation for 1921 has been issued in pamphlet form.

tion directly, but chiefly through its departmental agencies — the International Health Board, the China Medical Board, and the Division of Medical Education.

#### YELLOW FEVER IN RETREAT

The salient facts about yellow fever may be summarized as follows: Probably prevalent in Aztec times in Mexico and Central America; for last two centuries a dreaded scourge in Mexico, the West Indies, Central and South America, frequently invading North American ports and causing thousands of deaths in the lower Mississippi Valley; fact of transmission by bite of female *Stegomyia* mosquito established by American Army Medical Commission under Reed in Cuba, 1900-1901; Havana and Cuba freed from fever by Gorgas, who organized anti-mosquito measures, 1901-1902; example followed in Rio de Janeiro and Vera Cruz, 1903-1909; Panama Canal Zone successfully protected by same methods, 1904-1906; fear that canal traffic might carry disease to Far East and the confidence of Gorgas that fever could be eliminated led to appointment in 1916 by International Health Board of special commission to survey seed-beds of infection; Gorgas, head of commission, recommended a campaign of extermination; during delay caused by war, Noguchi, of Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research, visited Ecuador, Peru and Yucatan, isolated germ believed to be inciting cause of yellow fever and prepared vaccine and serum, 1918-1920; yellow fever commissions organized in Central American countries, Colombia, Venezuela, Ecuador and Peru; intensive campaign, 1918-1919, under Connor eliminated disease from Guayaquil, the chief endemic centre; 1920, commission sent to West Coast of Africa to investigate suspected areas; with occasional outbreaks, most of them traceable to places in Southern Mexico, the fever gradually gave ground; late in 1920 Mexican Government organized commission and invited co-operation of International Health Board.

Up to the beginning of 1921 experience with Noguchi's vaccine and serum indicated that the former when properly administered affords a marked protection against attacks of yellow fever, and that the latter,

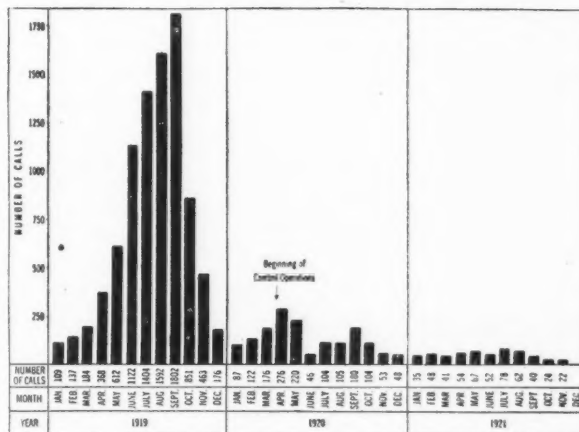
if it is used on or before the third day of the onset of the disease, reduces the mortality in a striking way. Data reported during last year confirm these conclusions. In Peru, of a group of 50 non-immune soldiers who were being sent into an infected district, 25 were vaccinated and 25 were left unvaccinated. Twenty of the latter group contracted yellow fever, while no case of the disease occurred among members of the former. Of 12 yellow fever patients in Belize, Honduras, who were treated with serum on or before the third day of the attack, 11 recovered. Until yellow fever is eradicated at its sources, the vaccine and serum promise to be most valuable means of prevention and cure.

With the entrance of the Mexican Government early in 1921 into the yellow fever campaign, the prospects of successful advance brightened. The chief remaining sources of infection were attacked. During 1921 Ecuador, Honduras, Nicaragua and Costa Rica were not invaded by the disease. Guatemala reported no case after Feb. 2; Salvador's last case was reported Feb. 15; by July 16 Peru was free, as was British Honduras in November. From Northern Brazil cases were reported, but the situation was being dealt with by the Government. It was gratifying to the Foundation to be able to advance money for continuing the campaign in Peru at a time when Government funds were not quickly available. The advantages of having resources which could be immediately mobilized in an emergency were strikingly demonstrated. It was another example of the efficiency of a unified plan of co-operation. The outlook is encouraging; it is too early to proclaim a complete victory, but the purpose to push the fight against yellow fever remains steadfast.

Dr. Jesse Lazear, one of the army commission in Cuba, gave his life for science and his fellow-men as the direct result of his studies of yellow fever. The list headed by Lazear, of brave men and women who have died in investigating yellow fever or in caring for its victims, is a long and noble roll of honor.

To this roll has been added during recent months the name of Howard B. Cross of the staff of the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research, who went to

Mexico under the auspices of the International Health Board to assist in the diagnoses of doubtful and complicated cases of genuine or suspected yellow fever. He sailed from New York Nov. 23, landed at Vera Cruz, fell ill in the village of Tuxtepec Dec. 18, and returned to Vera Cruz, where he died of yellow fever on December 26, 1921.



REDUCTION IN PHYSICIANS' CALLS FOR MALARIA

In the two towns of Groveton and South Groveton, Texas, with a combined population of 2,500, control operations, beginning on April 1, 1920, checked the development of malaria cases during the remaining months of 1920 in a striking way and in 1921 kept the number of cases at a mere fraction of the number in 1919, which was typical of the conditions in pre-control years. Experience in these and many other towns shows that such communities can free themselves of malaria for less than the disease is costing in doctors' bills alone.

#### THE CONTROL OF MALARIA

The primary object of the International Health Board and the allied Federal and State health organizations in undertaking malaria work in 1916 was to prove to small towns, villages and rural communities that malaria can be practically eradicated at per capita costs which make elimination cheaper than harboring the disease. The campaigns were based upon two scientific facts: (a) Malaria can be communicated only by the bite of the *Anopheles* mosquito, and (b) almost all sufferers from malaria can be cured by the administration of quinine in proper doses over a sufficient period of time. The prevention of mosquito breeding by drainage, by surface oiling of standing water, by the use of fish which eat the mosquito larvae; the protection of people by screening beds and houses, by removal of houses from the vicinity of breeding places, by the killing of adult mosquitos; the use of quinine when mosquito control is too difficult, have been tried in various combinations, most of them with a success that has been strikingly convincing.

For the last two years demonstrations have been carried on in conjunction with

local authorities, State boards of health and the United States Public Health Service. During 1921 in nine Southern States new demonstrations were undertaken in 26 localities, while supervision of work previously inaugurated was continued in 35 places in ten States. Reports indicate that substantial reductions in the prevalence of the disease were effected at

an average per capita cost of \$1.01. Reductions secured by demonstrations made in 1920 were maintained at an average cost of 25 cents per capita.

Investigations as to the adaptation of anti-malaria measures to tropical conditions were started in Porto Rico and Nicaragua. Preliminary studies were also made in Argentina and elsewhere to discover variations in conditions to be dealt with. Experiments in treatment by quinine were concluded in Sunflower County, Mississippi, where by experimental methods a standard dose of this drug calculated to protect individuals had previously been worked out and has now been made available to the public through commercial channels at a cost of \$1.95.

In addition to continued investigations in various methods of mosquito control, including the use of fish, surveys were undertaken in two regions in the South to determine the prevalence of malaria and the part which it plays in impairing the health and efficiency of a given population. One report for an area in Southeast Missouri was completed, and confirms the belief held by many that this disease, although less severe than in former years, is

still a crippling malady which not only impairs vitality, increases suffering, depresses the community spirit, but adds directly and substantially to the death rate.

#### HOOKWORM IN ONE COUNTY

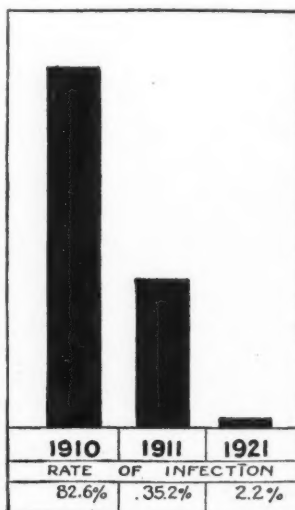
In the Spring of 1910 a hookworm survey was made of the school children of a Virginia county. This study showed that 82.6 per cent. of the pupils were infected, and there was reason to believe that a high percentage prevailed in the population as a whole. There were plenty of external evidences of the malady. Individuals were pale, listless and weak. Many were bedridden. The rich soil, ill-cultivated, produced a bare living. School attendance was small and the children who were enrolled made little progress. Local institutions languished; social life was primitive, community spirit lacking, moral standards low. The people were carrying a crippling load. Greedy parasites were robbing their blood. A polluted soil was maintaining the vicious circle of infection.

The Rockefeller Sanitary Commission, later merged in the International Health Board, began at once in co-operation with the Virginia State Board of Health an anti-hookworm campaign under the leadership of a devoted and able local physician whom the people knew and trusted. Clinics were organized, the cause, cure and prevention of hookworm disease were explained to the public, curative drugs were administered, sanitary conveniences were introduced. Fifteen months later a second school survey showed that the infection had been reduced to 35.2 per cent. The changes in the life of the community were unmistakable. The glow of health had come to once pallid faces, chronic invalids had returned to ac-

tive work, farms gave larger returns, the school enrolment had increased, pupils were alert, new energy and spirit manifested themselves in neighborly contacts and co-operation. But the work was not abandoned. Vigilance was continued, and to good purpose, for a third survey, made in 1921, showed the almost negligible infection of 2.2 per cent. In a little more than a decade a radical transformation had occurred.

Resurveys of many other counties scattered through the Southern States were made during 1921. The results were gratifying and encouraging. They showed what can be accomplished by persistent attacks upon one widely prevalent disease. They will spur the health authorities to renewed effort on a broader scale. Aid in the control of hookworm disease was given by the International Health Board to Governments in eighteen different countries in South and Central America, the West Indies, India, Ceylon, Borneo, Siam and Australia. In almost every case the authorities assumed during the year a larger share of the cost. Investigations were also continued into the nature and spread of the disease.

The process of widening hookworm work into general county health services made rapid progress during 1921. The International Health Board in ending its specific campaign participated in the broader programs which were carried out in eleven Southern States. Before the end of the year arrangements had been made to aid similar undertakings in seven other States. Last year 192 counties in the United States were conducting health services under full-time health officers. To the health budgets of seventy-seven of these counties the board contributed on the average one-fourth



THE HOOKWORM STORY OF ONE COUNTY

When the first demonstration in hookworm control in the United States was begun in a county of Virginia, in 1910, 82.6 per cent. of the school children were infected. As a result of intensive treatment the infection was reduced in 15 months to 35.2 per cent. Local agencies set in motion in 1910 have kept up the work until now hookworm infection in that county is negligible



of the cost. The development of county health work in Brazil is a gratifying outgrowth of the hookworm campaign in which the International Health Board had been participating.

County health measures obviously vary with the local conditions. Attacks must be made upon diseases in the order of their importance. Costs must be kept within the limits of the funds available. In the circumstances the plans are necessarily fairly simple and inexpensive. The average campaign includes: Vaccination against typhoid and smallpox; diphtheria prevention; the building of sanitary fly-proof latrines; medical inspection of school children, with dental and tonsil clinics; infant and maternal welfare work; control of communicable diseases in general, including special attention to tuberculosis, and popular education in public and personal hygiene.

#### TUBERCULOSIS CAMPAIGN IN FRANCE

The special commission which in 1917 was sent to France under the auspices of the International Health Board to aid in the creation of a nation-wide anti-tuberculosis organization was formally disbanded June 30, 1921. Certain special representatives of the board remained in France to complete arrangements for the final transfer to French agencies, governmental and private, of the functions which the commission had been performing. These activities were of four kinds: (1) medical, including demonstration dispensaries and graduate courses for physicians, (2) training of public health visitors, (3) education of the public, (4) organization of departmental and local committees.

Systems of tuberculosis clinics established by the commission in the nineteenth arrondissement of Paris and in the department of Eure-et-Loir have been transferred, together with certain sums of money, to the municipal and departmental authorities. The number of dispensaries established throughout France since July, 1917, and modeled upon these demonstration centres, has reached a total of 372, a substantial proportion of the total number estimated as necessary to give the nation an adequate system upon which to base an inclusive program of early diagnosis,

health visitors, preventoria, sanatoria, special relief and individual and public education.

This project represents the only effort of the International Health Board in the field of tuberculosis. It was undertaken as a form of wartime emergency aid. There is no intention of doing similar work in other countries. The board had no thought of providing a complete system for combating the white plague. It did not assume responsibility for hospitals, sanatoria, or direct relief. The American Red Cross during the war made generous appropriations for these purposes. The aim of the International Health Board was to demonstrate a system of organization, of special training, of popular education, of extension methods. It hoped to stimulate Government and voluntary agencies to adopt this system on a national scale and to support it as adequately as circumstances would permit. Everything considered, the response of the French people has been remarkably gratifying. Up to the end of 1921 the board had spent upon this French campaign about two million dollars.

During the year 1921 officers and special representatives of the Rockefeller Foundation and its agencies gave counsel to twelve State and National Governments about health laboratory administration, made recommendations to medical school authorities in the Far East, conferred with officials of the British Government concerning the problem of training health officers, lent a public health administrator, a sanitary engineer, and an industrial hygienist to the Australian Ministry of Health, contributed toward the salary and supplies of a pathologist in the Sao Paulo medical school, Brazil, and in other ways made information and suggestions available for public authorities, educational institutions and voluntary health agencies.

In addition to the scientific investigations of hookworm disease, malaria and yellow fever which have already been mentioned, the foundation supported studies of premedical education in China, of nurse training, of dispensary development, of hospital administration, and the training of hospital executives. Surveys were also made of medical schools and hospitals in many Asiatic countries.

# AMERICAN MARINES IN HAITI EXONERATED

*Report of the special Senate committee, headed by Mr. McCormick, regarding charges of maladministration in the island—More praise than blame for the Marine Corps—Continued occupation, with some reduction, recommended*

THE select committee appointed by the United States Senate to investigate the charges of maladministration in Haiti and Santo Domingo presented its formal report on Haiti to the Senate on June 26, 1922. It was signed by the full committee, which consisted of Senator Medill McCormick, Republican, of Illinois, Chairman, and Senators Tasker L. Oddie, Republican, of Nevada; Atlee Pomerene, Democrat, of Ohio, and Andrieus A. Jones, Democrat, of New Mexico, all of whom had taken part in the inquiry, holding protracted hearings and sifting all charges of abuses on the spot. The report, which is unanimous, is made up of some twenty-six pages, exclusive of maps. The American occupation is justified. On this subject the committee says:

The chronic anarchy into which Haiti had fallen, the exhaustion of its credit, the threatened intervention of the German Government, and the actual landing of the French naval forces, all imperiled the Monroe Doctrine and led the Government of the United States to take the successive steps set forth \* \* \* to establish order in Haiti, to help institute a Government as nearly representative as might be, and to assure the collaboration of the Governments of the United States and Haiti for the future maintenance of peace and the development of the Haitian people.

The main interest centres in the committee's findings with regard to the charges of maladministration, oppression, killings of Haitians and even torture and mutilation. The charges of cruelty by marines and local gendarmerie are given at length. Only a few of these are declared to have been proved. Many charges are declared to be completely false; others are stated to have been based on hearsay testimony by illiterate natives. All in all, the report gives

high praise to the Marine Corps for its work in Haiti. The committee recommends indefinite continuance of American military occupation, but with a reduction of the marine force. It is stated emphatically to be the committee's belief that early withdrawal or drastic reduction would be beyond all doubt immediately followed by brigandage and revolution. The salient passages of the report follow:

The accusations of cruelty which have been made against members of the Marine Corps have deeply concerned your committee, and required its full consideration. If cruelty toward the inhabitants has been countenanced or has escaped the punishment which vigilance could impose, or, on the other hand, if false or groundless accusations have been made, if facts have been distorted, the true conditions should be revealed. Your committee has realized the gravity of the charges and the importance of impartial investigation, and it has allotted a full portion of its time to the investigation of these complaints made by, or on behalf of, the Haitians. Examination has been made of the records and methods of investigations conducted by the Navy Department. Many witnesses have been heard in this country and in Haiti, and some scores of affidavits read and considered. So far as time permitted, no one was refused a hearing, and no limit has so far been placed on the number of written complaints in affidavit form.

Much evidence does not appear in the record. This consists of oral statements made to the committee or to one or more members in the course of confidential conversations which took place during the committee's visit to Haiti. \* \* \* The committee has weighed this undisclosed evidence, and has tried to give it correct weight, but the committee cannot in justice to the individuals disclose their names. \* \* \* The report of Professor Kelsey to the American Academy of Political Science, published in the committee's record, shows that he had an experience similar to that of the committee. We commend Professor Kelsey's

report to the close study of those who are interested in the Haitian problem.\*

During the five and one-half years of the occupation, 8,000 individuals have served in an average force of 2,000 marines maintained in Haiti since the occupation. It is true that some few of these individuals have committed crimes affecting the Haitians, the offenses depending in no way on the military character of the guilty parties. The very small number of such individual crimes reflects credit on the discipline of the Marine Corps. Proper diligence has been exercised by our military authorities in prosecuting and punishing the criminals. There has, however, been a different class of accusations—charges of violence committed by American marines or by the gendarmerie (the Haitian police force organized under the direction of the Marine Corps) and these charges contain elements of military oppression or unnecessary severity and reckless cruelty. These have formed one of the principal fields for investigation by your committee.

With few exceptions there are no complaints of such military abuses in the years 1915, 1916, 1917, and the earlier part of 1918. Nor are there many such complaints for the latter part of 1919 or the early part of 1920. All the charges concern times and places coincident with the phase of organized banditry or "caco" outbreak which became serious in 1918 and was practically suppressed by the end of 1919. The charges of military abuses are generally limited to a somewhat restricted region in the interior of Haiti, namely, the central plain of St. Michel, in which are the communes of Maissade and Hinche, the mountains surrounding this plain, and the mountainous region surrounding the town of Mirebalais. This country is broken and wooded, thinly settled, and very difficult of access. Both areas are cut up by tangled ravines and barricaded by a confusion of small mountain ranges. Torrential streams add to the difficulties of travel. For years this has been habitually a revolutionary area and has been subjected for a generation to frequent destructive operations of irregular revolutionary forces or bandits. The male inhabitants of the region, if not in active sympathy with any of these revolutionary forces, were frequently forced to join them through fear. Peaceful agriculture was next to impossible, and the result was that a great majority of the inhabitants was lawless and in sympathy with the "cacos," as the revolutionary bandits were called. The recruiting ground for revolutionary expeditions had always been the central plain and the mountains to the north, along the Dominican border.

#### THE "CACO" OUTBREAK

The causes of the outbreak of lawlessness above referred to are not altogether clear. The principal instigator was one Charlemagne Peralte. He had been a leader or chief of the "cacos" in the mountains of the north. He was a man of local prominence and had held absolute sway over his

followers. His career had been "revolutionary," but he caused no trouble during the quiet years after the occupation until in the Autumn of 1917, when he and some of his followers took part in an armed attempt at Hinche to rob the house of Captain Doxey of some public funds which had been received for disbursement. Peralte was arrested and convicted by a provost court and sentenced to a term of imprisonment. He was made to labor in the streets of Cape Haitien under guard like any other convict, and this aroused his intense bitterness against the Americans. He escaped in 1918 and began the outbreak in July, 1918, with a few of his old followers. His resentment was demonstrated by acts of violence alike against natives and Americans. He rapidly recruited followers from the former professional and habitual revolutionists, and other chiefs, following his example, came from retirement and recruited bands of their own. The outbreak was as much one of organized banditry as it was revolutionary, although there remained much resentment against the Americans among the former revolutionaries. There was resentment also against the continuance of the *corvée* [forced labor], and this resentment undoubtedly made recruitment more easy for the bandit leaders. As in former days, also, the leaders pressed other inhabitants into their service.

The guerrilla outbreak was opposed first of all by the gendarmerie, which was recruited principally from the same class of population as the bandits and officered by the United States Marines holding commissions in the gendarmerie, but by March, 1919, it became clear that the gendarmerie could not suppress the outlawry without assistance, and thereupon the Marine Corps took over the greater part of the border, although the gendarmerie remained in active service. \* \* \* The problem was to restore peace and order in the central and northern mountainous regions. The situation did not admit of effective operations carried on by larger bodies than a platoon or two. The only practicable method was the one adopted—that of constant patrolling by parties ranging in number from four or five men to thirty or forty men. These small patrols were almost always vastly outnumbered. They endured tremendous physical hardships. They were frequently beyond the reach of help, and were even out of all communication with other friendly forces for two or three weeks at a time. They ran risks and faced dangers such as are endured by beleaguered garrisons. It is impossible to judge of the accusations which have been made or of the conduct of the marines or gendarmes as if they had been engaged on police patrols in a settled country intersected by highways. \* \* \*

As the campaign progressed, the marines won the approval of the humble inhabitants, but they increased the dislike and resentment of those notables who were cacos or were allied with them. The committee has found that most of the accusations are made against a small handful of marines. Some of these were most active and effective against the bandits. Some of the accusations first brought against them have been entirely disproved, and yet other accusations spring up

\*See also the comments of John E. Vance, Jr. in article elsewhere in these pages, entitled, "A Good Word for Santo Domingo."



against them. It such cases it is at least possible that they are the victims of slander inspired by the intelligent hatred of the small native leaders whose dominance they destroyed.

The campaign continued through the year 1919. The enemy bands frequently numbered as many as three or four hundred, although their personnel undoubtedly was constantly changing. By constant pursuit and by attacking on sight, regardless of the disparity of numbers, the Americans or the gendarmerie under the American command gradually wore these bands down until they disappeared. \* \* \* It is impossible to give the exact number of engagements, but it is accurate to say that in one place or another armed encounters occurred daily. Late in 1919 Charlemagne was killed in the field. This broke the back of the uprising, but another principal leader, Benoit, remained in bush for several months until he also was killed, in May, 1920. After his death the last of the disorder was quickly put down.

During all these times at least three-fourths of the territory of Haiti and four-fifths of the inhabitants were not directly affected. The remaining one-fourth of the territory to which this discussion refers, containing the lawless population, was the theatre of practically all military operations, and was the only source of complaints of military abuses.

#### PEACE ESTABLISHED

These regions are now peaceful. There are no bandits in Haiti. The inhabitants are leaving the mountain forests to cultivate the central plain—less disturbed than they have been within the memory of living man. It is impossible to determine in exact figures the number of Haitians killed in this eighteen months' guerrilla campaign. A fair estimate is about 1,500. The figure includes many reports based on guesses made during combat and not on actual count. The casualties, whatever they were, undoubtedly included some non-combatants. The bandits were found resting in settlements where they were surrounded by their women and children, or in villages where they camped and were tolerated by the inhabitants through fear or friendship. When encountered they had to be instantly attacked. These conditions largely account for the deaths of the bystanders.

Such casualties are to be deplored. They were unhappy consequences of the irregular operations. Your committee is convinced that the suppression of the bandits by patrols was the only method which would have been effective. It is fair to speculate that if the bandits had been permitted to continue their depredations there would have been a greater number of innocent people killed and a far greater sum total of misery. During this outbreak the bandits preyed on the other inhabitants, robbed them, maltreated them, and burned their houses and crops as they had been wont to do in the many revolutions before the occupation. The peasants who were the victims do not now wish for the withdrawal of the marines. Today they may work and travel without fear of robbery. Of this the committee has been convinced by opinions expressed at first

hand by intelligent peasants. These are jealous of their sovereignty, and have every reason to be, but are aware of the benefits of peace and order, and their first wish is that peace and order by some means may be assured.

The committee is convinced that cruelty has never been countenanced by the Navy Department or by the brigade commanders of our marines in Haiti, or the commandants of the gendarmerie of Haiti, nor has this been alleged to the committee.

It is evident to any one who reads the testimony of a number of witnesses that some false and groundless charges have been made, and that in many cases facts have been distorted and exaggerated. Fairness compels the further explanation that few, if any, of the illiterate and ignorant peasants making such charges knew the difference between what they had seen and what they had heard said at second or third hand, or on sheer rumor. Utterly untaught in justice or evidence, they have probably been induced in some cases to bear false witness. Whether these charges be described as false or mistaken, it would be wrong to judge those who made them by American standards. Nevertheless, the testimony of such witnesses is dangerous unless it is carefully sifted. \* \* \*

#### ILLEGAL EXECUTIONS

On the other hand, certain instances of unauthorized executions of captives at the hands of marines or at their command are beyond much doubt established. The number is small. In fact, after full inquiry and earnest invitation to complainants to come forward as witnesses or with affidavits, the committee is to this day reasonably satisfied of the fact of ten such cases, of which two have been established in the course of judicial inquiries. Those who were killed had been caught bearing arms and had been imprisoned. These illegal killings all took place within the period of six months from December, 1918, to May, 1919, and all happened in one of the two areas in the remote interior. Of the three Americans who, as officers, would be directly responsible, if the facts were judicially established, one was insane, one is dead, and the other, commissioned in the gendarmerie from the enlisted personnel of the marines, has been discharged from the service. [These three cases are discussed in detail.]

#### CHARGES OF TORTURE

Accusations have been made of tortures and cruel beatings. Many of these accusations have been completely refuted; others bear a resemblance to types of cruelty well known in Haiti for many years, but foreign to anything known in America. Americans are not given to mutilating their dead enemies. A charge of mutilation against an American at once suggests a very close scrutiny of everything the witness says. Mutilations probably did occur. They may have been inflicted by the bandits or by the gendarmerie in the absence of white officers or conceivably by white officers, but the character of the testimony leaves a grave doubt as to the identity of the criminals. The committee



is convinced that these cruel or inhuman acts were probably never committed by Americans.

The committee declined to pronounce on the grave charges made against Major Clarke H. Wells of the Marine Corps, who was a Colonel in the gendarmerie and in command of the Northern Department of Haiti in the last months of 1918 and until March, 1919, on the ground that "the committee is not a judicial body. It feels that it should make no report definitely accusing any individual of crime unless that individual has had a trial." Though deploring the long delay attending the official investigation of Major Wells's conduct, the committee "proposes to print all accusations of a serious nature, but it proposes to reserve such publication until the results of investigation can be printed at the same time. In this way it feels it may demonstrate to the Haitians the willingness of America to receive and air all just complaints, but at the same time it will safeguard innocent and faithful American officers from revolting slander."

#### A SUMMARY OF THE FACTS

On the evidence before it the committee can now state:

(1) That the accusations of military abuses are limited in point of time to a few months and in location to restricted area.

(2) Very few of the many Americans who have served in Haiti are thus accused. The others have restored order and tranquillity under arduous conditions of service, and generally won the confidence of the inhabitants of the country with whom they came in touch.

(3) That certain *caco* prisoners were executed without trial. Two such cases have been judicially determined. The evidence to which reference has been made shows eight more cases with sufficient clearness to allow them to be regarded without much doubt as having occurred. Lack of communication and the type of operations conducted by small patrols not in direct contact with superior authority in some cases prevented knowledge of such occurrences on the part of higher authority until it was too late for effective investigation. When reported, investigations were held with no apparent desire to shield any guilty party. Such executions were unauthorized and directly contrary to the policy of the brigade commanders.

(4) That tortures of Haitians by Americans has not in any case been established, but that some accusations may have a foundation in excesses committed by hostile natives or members of the gendarmerie without the knowledge by American officers. Mutilations have not been practiced by Americans.

(5) That in the course of the campaign certain inhabitants other than bandits were killed during operations against the outlaws, but that such killings were unavoidable, accidental, and not intentional.

(6) That there was a period of about six months at the beginning of the outbreak when the gendarmerie lost control of the situation and was not itself sufficiently controlled by its higher officers, with the result that subordinate officers in the field were left too much discretion as to

methods of patrol and local administration, and that this state of affairs was not investigated promptly enough, but that it was remedied as soon as known to the brigade commander. That the type of operations necessarily required the exercise of much independent discretion by detachment commanders.

(7) That undue severity or reckless treatment of natives was never countenanced by the brigade or gendarmerie commanders, and that the investigation by naval authority of charges against members of the Marine Corps displays no desire to shield any individual, but, on the contrary, an intention to get at the facts.

(8) That the testimony of most native witnesses is highly unreliable and must be closely scrutinized, and that many unfounded accusations have been made. It is also felt that in the case of accusations of abuses committed two years ago now made for the first time the delay has not arisen through any well-grounded fear of oppression by military authority, but that many of those accusations in affidavit form now forthcoming are produced at this late date because it is thought by those who are agitating for the immediate termination of the occupation that such accusations will create in the United States a sentiment in favor of such termination. In such cases the delay in making the charges and in presenting the evidence weighs heavily against the truth of the charge. All such charges, however, require full investigation. The committee feels certain that the necessary investigation by the Navy Department will be thoroughly conducted, that the rights of those accused will be respected, and that there will be no suppression of facts. When collected the facts so obtained may be weighed with the facts alleged in the accusation. If, when all such evidence is in, the committee has any reason to change any of its conclusions it will submit with the evidence as printed such revision of this report on the alleged military abuses as may be required.

The committee believes that an important lesson may be learned from a study of the bandit campaign and the subsequent grave charge of misconduct. The lesson is the extreme importance in a campaign of this kind for higher command to require daily operation reports to be prepared by patrol leaders. In the early days of the outbreak such reports were not systematically required. Small patrols would be out of touch with the rest of our forces for days or weeks under distressing conditions of service. There is no complete record of the places they visited or when the visits were made or who was in command. If such reports or records were in existence, innocent individuals could instantly be cleared of unfounded charges and guilty individuals could be identified with certainty. Such reports would have been a safeguard to the inhabitants and to the reputation of the Americans.

In concluding this portion of the report the committee expresses its chagrin at the improper or criminal conduct of some few members of the Marine Corps, and at the same time feels it to be its duty to condemn the process by which biased or interested individuals and committees and propagandists have seized on isolated

instances, or have adopted as true any rumor however vile or baseless in an effort to bring into general disrepute the whole American naval force in Haiti. The committee wishes to express its admiration for the manner in which our men accomplished their dangerous and delicate task.

Patrolling still goes on, although the country is peaceful. For the last two years or more daily reports have been required. It is noteworthy that in the last two years or more there have arisen no serious grounds for complaint.

The confidence placed in the Americans by the Haitian peasants and the approval frequently communicated to the committee by those who know and sympathize with the peasants and who are engaged in philanthropic or educational work among them negative the idea of any campaign of terrorism against the inhabitants such as agitators and professional propagandists, Haitian and American, would have appear.

The acceptance of the status quo, the appreciation of the present peace and increasing prosperity of the country by the mass of the people is proved by the fact that there are among 2,500,000 people only 2,500 gendarmes and less than 2,500 marines.

#### FAILURE AND ACHIEVEMENT

It has been necessary to interrupt the general consideration of the American occupation in Haiti in order to review at length the incidents of the outbreak of 1918 and 1919. The committee is not prepared to say that the rising of caco bands in the section of the country where for a generation revolution habitually originated was encouraged by the *corvée*. But it is impossible not to condemn the blunder committed when, under the *corvée*, laborers were carried beyond their vicinage to work under guard in strange surroundings. This was an error of commission like those of omission arising from failure to develop a definite and constructive policy under the treaty or to centralize in some degree responsibility for the conduct of American officers and officials serving in Haiti under the Government of Haiti or that of the United States. The blunder arose, too, from the failure of the departments in Washington to appreciate the importance of selecting for service in Haiti, whether in civil or military capacities, men who were sympathetic to the Haitians and able to maintain cordial personal and official relations with them.

It may be set down to the credit of the American occupation and the treaty officials that the Haitian cities, once foul and insanitary, are now clean, with well-kept and well-lighted streets. The greater part of an arterial highway system opening up the heart of the country has been built. The currency, which once violently fluctuated under the manipulations of European merchants, has been stabilized, to the great advantage of the Haitian peasant. Arrears of amortization as well as of interest on the public debt have been paid, as also are regularly paid the salaries of the smallest officials. The steamship communications between Haiti and the United States are greatly improved. Trade and revenues are increasing.

The revision of the customs and internal taxes, so important to the prosperity of Haiti, and especially of its poorest classes, awaits the funding of the debt by a new loan. There is peace and security of property and person throughout the republic. The peasant in his hovel or on the road to market is safe from molestation by brigand or official authority. A force of 2,500 gendarmes, insufficiently trained to cope with the caco outbreak in 1918, is now admirably disciplined. As its morale has improved, the force has become at once more considerate and more efficient in the discharge of its duties. It is noteworthy that an increasing proportion of the commissioned officers are native Haitians, those promoted from the ranks to be supplemented by others, graduates of the newly established cadet school. In brief, under the treaty, the peace of the republic, the solvency of its Government and the security of its people have been established for the first time in many years.

#### WHAT MUST BE DONE

Nevertheless your committee submits that the American people will not consider their duty under the treaty discharged if, in addition to what has been accomplished, there are not placed within the reach of the Haitian masses justice, schools and agricultural instruction. The treaty itself makes no provision to consummate these things, necessary to be done for progress in Haiti. There ought to be appointed a legal adviser to the High Commissioner. It would be an act of statesmanship and of comity on the part of our Government if it would send to Haiti a commission comprising a commercial adviser, an expert in tropical agriculture and an educator of the standing and special experience of Dr. Moton of Tuskegee. There ought to be a survey of the need and opportunity for industrial and especially of agricultural instruction and development in a country which depends upon agriculture as its sole source of wealth. Cuba is as exclusively an agricultural country as Haiti. Like Haiti, it pays for its imports of manufactures by exports of tropical agricultural products. The per capita foreign trade of Cuba is from twenty to twenty-five times that of Haiti, and the per capita revenue greater in like proportion. Obviously, with continued peace and order, with the further building of highways and trails, with instruction in agriculture, the wealth, trade and revenues of Haiti will increase very greatly. Your committee submits that such an increase in wealth, commerce and revenue is necessary to the social and political progress of the Haitian people. Although at this time a beginning may be made in the establishment of elementary schools throughout the country, primary education cannot be made accessible to a majority of the children unless the wealth and revenue of the republic are very much increased. As wealth and revenues increase, schools, trails and highways may be extended, and as they are extended, in turn, the revenues will be further enhanced and so enable the further development of the public services. At the same time the buying power and the well-being of the people will increase as under American guidance or control.

they have so marvelously increased in Cuba and Porto Rico during the last generation. It is for this reason that your committee attaches importance to the dispatch of a commission such as suggested.

In this connection your committee believes it to be the duty of the American Government to advise the Haitian Government against permitting foreign interests to acquire great land holdings in Haiti.

Your committee would point out further that as communications are opened up and as the peasants are secure in their life and their property, and as each is able to earn something regularly from the sale of his little crop, the danger of revolution and banditry will diminish. It will be possible progressively to reduce the force of marines in the territory of the republic and ultimately to intrust the maintenance of order and peace exclusively to the gendarmes. Your committee believes that a beginning in this direction may be made without further delay, and that a concentration of the marine force may be begun and that the aggregate number of marines in the territory of the republic may be reduced. It holds, however, that drastic reduction of the marine force, or its early withdrawal, would certainly be followed by a recurrence of brigandage and by the organization of revolutionary bands. The committee urges further that in connection with the concentration of the marine force in a limited number of posts, steps should be taken to put an end to the system of military law under which persons are tried in provost courts for offenses by the press against public order, or for attacks upon the military and peace forces within the republic. These provost courts today do not touch the lives of the overwhelming majority of the people. It was doubtless necessary to establish such courts, but it is not consonant with our declared purposes under the treaty to continue them indefinitely. Their abolition is conditioned upon certain precedent steps, among them a reform of the courts of first instance. This last is urgent and important.

Along the lines suggested there can be a rapid development in Haiti, moral, social, po-

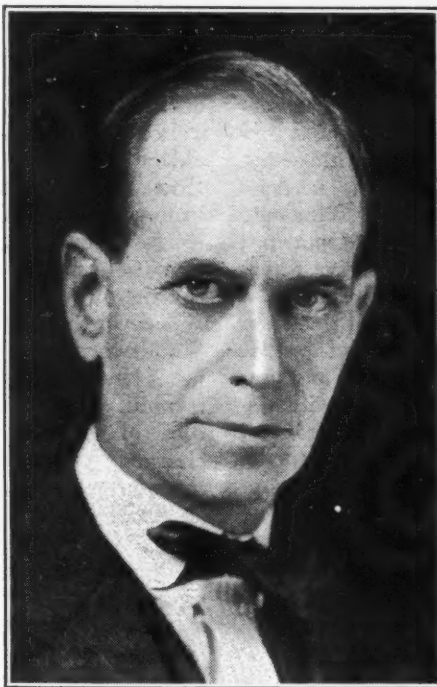
litical and economic, provided American policy be marked by continuity and by the spirit of service. Not only have certain American officers and officials been chosen for service in Haiti who were unsuited to their task, but men have been transferred from responsible posts before they could very well have learned the duties to which they had been appointed. During the six years of the American occupation in Haiti there have been half a dozen chiefs of the Latin American Bureau, half a dozen commandants of the forces of occupation, half a dozen commanders of the Gendarmerie d'Haiti. The committee holds that the reforms proposed (and heretofore informally suggested to responsible officials) should be energetically carried out.

So much for an American policy of constructive service to be rendered by American officials. On the part of the Haitian officials and the literate element of the Haitian people there must be co-operation with the American officials. Haitians must candidly realize the meaning of the unhappy events of the last twenty years, and appreciate that in collaboration with America under the treaty Haiti can develop the wealth necessary to progress, provide for the general education of her people, and establish a more truly representative system of government than she has ever known. There are certain elements in Haiti which can balk and perhaps delay the rehabilitation of

the country. They cannot prevent it. They can do much to further it. The duty of patriotic Haitians is to uphold their own Government in effectively co-operating with that of the United States under the treaty, and so hasten the day when Haiti may stand alone. The alternative to the course herein suggested is the immediate withdrawal of American support and the abandonment of the Haitian people to chronic revolution, anarchy, barbarism and ruin.

Your committee deems it wise to defer the report upon the Dominican Republic in view of the negotiations happily to begin between the State Department and the Dominican leaders looking to the termination of the military government in Santo Domingo.

MEDILL McCORMICK,  
TASKER L. ODDIE,  
ATLEE POMERENE,  
ANDRIEUS A. JONES.



(© Harris & Ewing)

MEDILL McCORMICK

United States Senator from Illinois, who headed the special committee sent to investigate charges against the American occupation of Haiti and Santo Domingo



# CANADA'S FOURTEENTH PARLIAMENT

By MADGE MACBETH

*The advent of a third party, the Progressive, in Canada—Personality of its sponsor—Eleven clergymen and one woman on the floor of the House—A bachelor Prime Minister*

IT can scarcely be said that the first session of the fourteenth Parliament of Canada has contributed anything melodramatic to the history of nations. There has been no one question before the House which, like the Manitoba School bill or the closure on the naval debate, roused the entire country to such a pitch of excitement that people snatched the "specials" as they came off the press and then shrieked approval or anathema as the daily news reacted upon their political creeds. The drama has been rather dull in the new \$12,000,000 theatre of the people.

There are, however, several striking features that make this Parliament conspicuous. First, it marks the advent of a real third party into Canadian politics—the Progressive Party. In 1896, it is true, there was a sporadic movement (confined entirely to the Province of Ontario), known as the Patrons of Industry, which managed to elect some thirteen representatives to the House. But after a brief term they succumbed to the inevitable fate that shadows the ill-starred number, and are as an inaudible tinkle compared with the clarion note struck by the Progressives. When a body of electors can come to the Legislature with a numerical strength considerably greater than that shown by the official Opposition, the political baptismal font must be prepared for the christening of a real new party.

T. A. Crerar, father of this lusty infant, is two years the junior of the Prime Minister and the leader of the Opposition. His boyhood was spent on the parental farm in Manitoba, sixty-odd miles from a railway, and at nineteen he abandoned farming for school teaching. The farmers' co-operative movement had in him a staunch supporter from its in-

ception, so it is not surprising that Mr. Crerar was elected to the Presidency of the United Grain Growers, which office necessitated a residence in town. Although opposed to the Conservative Party, his loyalty to the empire during the tense days of the war expressed itself in his joining the Coalition Government in 1917 as Minister of Agriculture under Sir Robert Borden. That personal advancement and material gain have little attraction for him is evidenced by his rejection of the tempting post of Opposition Leader and its attached salary of a Cabinet Minister, when the Liberals came into power on the 6th of last December.

For the first time in Canada's history eleven clergymen sit on the floor of the House, a fact that encouraged the public to expect a leavening effect upon the session's legislation. Of these eleven, two may be said to form the nucleus of a fourth or labor party—the Rev. J. S. Woodsworth and the Rev. Mr. Irvine. Mr. Woodsworth is a purely Canadian product. His ally, Mr. Irvine, is an old countryman. During the Winnipeg labor troubles of 1919-20, Mr. Woodsworth was charged with criminal libel uttered through the columns of *The Strike Bulletin* and arrested; but the charge was dropped. His experience in social work is so wide among the foreign population, especially in North Winnipeg, where it is said that at the last election eighteen languages were spoken, that he was engaged by the Governments of Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta to make a report upon the conditions existing among them. The result of his investigations was presented in so fearlessly accurate a form that his employers had not the courage to print the full report! In the December election



Mr. Woodsworth polled almost as many votes as his four competitors combined.

Never until this session has a woman found her way into the Federal house, and it is appropriate that Miss Agnes MacPhail should adorn the crown of the Progressives. Her vision is not quite so broad as that of many older parliamentarians, probably because her early environment was narrow. A village "school-marm" in a typically rural hamlet, she came to Ottawa as the local oracle of the constituency, and it is small wonder that her non-sympathizers saw in her attitude an effort to guide the minds of the electors as she had guided those of her country pupils. Nevertheless, she is deeply sincere, and outspoken beyond the hopes of popularity. Her maiden speech on the enfranchisement of women of alien birth was the precursor of a series of speeches both in the Commons and elsewhere, and Miss MacPhail is not without the knack of epigrammatic utterance. She has lately said that "the Liberals were false to a true policy, and the Conservatives true to a false policy," thereby implying that the Progressives will be true to a true policy!

At the impressive ceremony which every member tries conscientiously to attend—the line-up before Colonel Cameron, House of Commons accountant, who doles out the year's stipend of Dominion officials—Miss MacPhail created a sensation by refusing to accept more than the \$2,500 which has, until recently, been the honorarium of Federal politicians. At the session of 1921 the members had generously voted themselves an extra \$1,500, and this sum Miss MacPhail declined.

Another noteworthy feature is that for the first time in the history of Canada a bachelor is Prime Minister. The Right Hon. William Lyon Mackenzie King was a romantic figure even before the last election returned his party to power. A grandson of the illustrious William Lyon Mackenzie who, with Louis Papineau and a band of patriotic zealots, defied the constituted autocracy of Upper and Lower Canada in 1837 and fled from the country and found a refuge in the United States, he strode through the gradations of varsity student, graduate student, cub reporter, editor, Deputy Minister and Min-

ister (of a department he had virtually created)—onward and eastward to China. At Shanghai, where he was sent by the Imperial Parliament as one of the British Commissioners on the Anti-Opium Commission, he began a long and successful career as Commissioner, investigating problems ranging from the disputes of the Bell Telephone employes to the causes of the anti-Asiatic riots.

He attracted the attention of the Rockefeller Foundation, with which he was associated for several years, and on one conspicuous occasion served its interests by attending a miners' ball with no less a person than young John D. Rockefeller himself. Today he is never seen on the ballroom floor, though it cannot be for the reason that the carking cares of State deaden Terpsichore's call. The Right Hon. Arthur Meighen, as Premier, never lost an opportunity to lend his wiry form to the rhythm of the jazz.

There is one branch of the legislative machinery that has shown, in this first session, unprecedented activity. That ancient and honorable adjunct of the Senate known as the Divorce Committee has been grievously overtaxed. "Acts for Relief" have been so numerous that, during the dying days of Parliament, batches of third readings have been glibly run through at the rate of one per minute!

The Senate has made amendments to the Narcotics and Noxious Drugs act and to the Canada Temperance act, which have an important international effect in controlling the traffic in drugs and liquor between Canada and the United States. In the Commons two of the most contentious subjects have been the establishment of a Wheat Board and the question of freight rates between the eastern and western provinces. The Wheat Board was enacted in a compromise form, the western members after determined opposition agreeing to accept a modified board which could come into being only through concurrent legislation on the part of various local Governments in the prairie country.

Fierce dissension arose between the Progressives, the Government and the Conservatives over the freight rates. A pact known as the Crows' Pass Agreement was entered into in 1897, under the terms of which freight rates between the east and

west were reduced on grain and a large list of domestic commodities. With the advent of the war the agreement was suspended until July 6, 1922. The Progressives desired the revival of the pact in its entirety; the Government wished the suspension continued for at least another year, and the Conservatives desired the agreement abrogated and the question of rates left to the Railway Commission of

Canada. The committee reported in favor of the suspension, "except in respect of grain and flour, for one year from July 6, 1922, with power to the Government to suspend for a further period of one year, if, in its judgment, the then existing conditions justify the same." This recommendation was adopted, and an act was passed giving legislative effect to the committee's report.

## CANADA'S SELF-DEFENSIVE TARIFF POLICY

[PERIOD ENDED JUNE 10, 1922]

**I**N concluding a four weeks' debate on Canada's new fiscal budget in Parliament on June 12, the Minister of Finance, W. S. Fielding, maintained that the policy of the Government was not a protectionist policy, but a revision of the tariff downward in such a way that business would not be disturbed. Mr. Fielding assured Parliament that the Government was strongly in favor of reciprocity with the United States.

He feared Canada had lost a golden opportunity by rejecting the compact of 1911, but added: "If at any moment our American neighbors are prepared to meet us in the spirit of 1911, we are ready to discuss the matter with them, with a willingness to make a satisfactory arrangement so long as we protect the interests of Canada, just as we did in 1911." Turning to his visit to Washington, the Finance Minister said that Canada must perforce look to Britain rather than the United States for trade at the present time in view of the tariff walls erected against her by her neighbor to the south; hence increased preference in customs duties on goods from Britain. But this attitude, he said, was merely one of self-defense and in no wise implied the lack of a wish to

establish friendly and better trade relations with the United States.

The need of additional farm labor in Saskatchewan, owing to the vast acreage of new land gone under the plow with the influx of settlers along the transcontinental lines of the Canadian National Railways, prompted the Provincial Government in co-operation with the Federal Department of Immigration to import workers from Holland. The men are not picked up promiscuously, but are carefully examined as to their qualifications. Only those fitted for agricultural pursuits and for a high type of citizenship are selected. Farmers who want the Holland workers and who will assume proper responsibility in connection with their future are provided with comprehensive application forms by the Saskatchewan Bureau of Labor and Industries.

A sharp fall in Canadian foreign trade was featured in returns for the year ended March 31, but the United States remained Canada's best customer. Thus, exports to the United States were valued at \$288,152,041, as compared with \$525,198,321 in the year previous, and imports from the United States were \$503,776,863, against \$812,331,823 for the same period.

# SHALL CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT ENDURE ?

By WAYNE B. WHEELER, LL.D.

General Counsel of the Anti-Saloon League of America

*The purposes and methods of the main Association Opposed to Prohibition—What the legalizing of light beer and wine would mean—A challenge of lawless elements aimed against the Constitution and orderly government*

WHEN the right of a self-governing people to enforce its own laws enacted by the orderly processes of government is challenged, the conflict must be without quarter until the law and its enforcement are masters of the field. More than thirty national liquor organizations now challenge the right of the American people to make the Eighteenth Amendment operative and the laws enacted pursuant thereto effective. In the primaries in Pennsylvania on May 16 the outlawed liquor interests had the effrontery in certain Congressional districts to send out a communication under the name of the "Liquor Dealers' Association." Congressman Clyde Kelly of the Thirty-third Pennsylvania District described it as follows:

In my own district I saw the power of the outlaws and the power of the people. The Allegheny County Liquor Dealers' Association, whose very existence is an insulting challenge to the Constitution and laws of this country, officially endorsed my opponent and supplied him with large sums of money levied from license-holders and bootleggers. Seventy-five thousand dollars was expended and every method known to polecat fighters was brought into use.

Mr. Kelly represents the greatest industrial district in the United States. It is made up almost entirely of miners, steel workers and other laboring people. He was renominated on the Republican ticket by a majority of 11,900, and by a vote of 3 to 1 on the Democratic ticket, and secured all of the votes for Congress on the Prohibition Party ticket. The result in this great labor district clearly shows that laboring men do not consider beer the dominant issue in these Congressional primaries.

The leading organization in this fight against the national prohibition amendment and the national prohibition act is the "Association Against the Prohibition Amendment," or, as it is called more briefly, the A. A. P. A.

## PURPOSE AND MEANING OF THE A. A. P. A.

The purpose and meaning of this organization leading the fight against prohibition is set forth in all its communications as follows:

1. The repeal of the National Prohibition Enforcement Code.
2. To permit each State to place its own construction upon the Eighteenth Amendment and to enact whatever measures it may desire for its enforcement.
3. To legalize the sale of beer and light wine.

This program, if put in operation, would nullify the clear purpose of the Eighteenth Amendment. This amendment to the Constitution gave Congress the authority and placed upon it the responsibility of adopting legislation to enforce the constitutional provision relating to prohibition. To repeal this law would leave the Federal Government without any authority to enforce a plain provision in the Constitution of the United States. The Supreme Court has said concerning this amendment:

The first section of the amendment, the one embodying prohibition, is operative throughout the entire territorial limits of the United States, binds all legislative bodies, courts, public officers and individuals within those limits, and of its own force invalidates every legislative act, whether by Congress or by a State Legislature or by a territorial Assembly, which authorizes or sanctions what the amendment prohibits.

The second section of the amendment does

not enable Congress or the several States to defeat or thwart the prohibition, but only to enforce it by appropriate legislation.

Chief Justice White, in his opinion [R. I. vs. Palmer, 253 U. S., 350], said:

*As the prohibition (amendment) did not define the intoxicating beverages which it prohibited, in the absence of anything to the contrary it clearly, from the very fact of its adoption, cast upon Congress the duty not only of defining the prohibited beverages, but also of enacting such regulations and sanctions as were essential to make them operative when defined.*

In spite of the plain language of the Constitution and the declaration of the Supreme Court, this anti-prohibition organization insists upon the repeal of the law to enforce it. To take away the machinery with which the Constitution is enforced is as reprehensible as the violation of the law itself.

The second part of this "wet" organization's program is to allow each State to pass its own code, and to let that be the law of the land in that Commonwealth. We would then face the situation where the Constitution, which is paramount to all State laws, would be non-enforceable because a "wet" State would pass no law, or one that would not enforce the amendment. In other words, this nullification scheme would allow the wet States to remain wet and the dry States dry. We would be just where we were before the Eighteenth Amendment was adopted. No one who believes in supporting the Constitution of the United States and having it enforced can consistently subscribe to this program to make the Eighteenth Amendment inoperative throughout the United States.

#### LIGHT WINE AND BEER

The immediate objective of the liquor interests, openly declared, is to legalize light wine and beer, which would make Federal prohibition non-enforceable. This would mean the return of breweries and wineries, with a complete system necessary for distribution. The beer traffic, with its attendant political corruption, represented the principal part of the outlawed liquor traffic. Its reinstatement, therefore, would bring back most of the evils which were prohibited by the Eighteenth Amendment.

Congress adopted the definition of one-half of 1 per cent. in the Volstead act because the experience in the States that had adopted prohibition had clearly demonstrated that a higher percentage made efficient prohibition enforcement impossible. Thirty-four States have adopted a definition of one-half of 1 per cent. or less; seven States have adopted the standard in the Volstead act by reference.

The Supreme Court of the United States, in an opinion delivered by Justice Brandeis, recently declared: "The decision of the courts, as well as the action of the Legislatures, make it clear \* \* \* that a rigid classification of beverages is an essential for \* \* \* effective prohibition of intoxicating liquor. A test often used \* \* \* is whether it contains one-half of 1 per cent. by volume." The court then called attention to the fact that the Federal Government would have the same difficulties in enforcement as the States, and referred to the definitions of over thirty States which have as strong or stronger definitions than the Volstead act. The court then said: "It is therefore \* \* \* clear \* \* \* that the definition provided by the Volstead act was not an arbitrary one."

Beer and wine proposals have been repudiated by State Legislatures and by referendum votes in every State in which the question was submitted, including States like Ohio, Michigan, Washington and Colorado. Experience proves that honest enforcement is impossible when handicapped by such amendments.

The courts have repeatedly declared that wine is intoxicating liquor. It therefore cannot be legalized under the Eighteenth Amendment. To permit a 2.75 per cent. beer under the Federal law would not legalize it in the States that have prohibited such a beer by State law. We would have in other States a variety of standards that would encourage lawlessness and result in chaos.

The election of a Congressman committed to a program to weaken the national enforcement code means the non-enforcement of national prohibition. In the three States that have no State enforcement code in effect it means nullification of the Eighteenth Amendment. In the States that



have State prohibition codes it will encourage lawlessness by encouraging the wets in their attack on State prohibition laws. Seventy-eight United States Senators and the majority of Congressmen come from States that prohibit even 1 per cent. beer. They cannot consistently vote against the standard of enforcement which experience proved to be necessary in their own States.

### THE CHALLENGE

The people of the United States have been confronted with a challenge by the foes of law enforcement. This group deliberately plans to elect members of Congress who will destroy the laws necessary to enforce national prohibition, even though they must take an oath to support the Constitution before they can qualify as Congressmen and United States Senators. Some 435 Congressmen and 35 United States Senators will face the attack of these organizations pledged to make law enforcement a farce in the United States. More than two-thirds of Congress have stood loyal to their oaths. They will be the objects of the most unpatriotic attack ever made upon public officials.

The following is a sample of the vitriolic attack of the A. A. P. A. upon the Volstead act:

The Volstead law is visionary, unnecessarily drastic, ineffective, and blasphemous. No appropriations of public money can possibly be large enough to provide for even a semblance of enforcement. It has made lawbreakers of a large proportion of our population, and is helping to create a nation of liars, sneaks and hypocrites. The illicit liquor traffic, with its new types of crimes and criminals, is a result of it. It fosters drugs and dope. It is a departure from the principles of liberty laid down by our fathers, and is an unwarranted invasion of personal rights. Its failure is breeding a disrespect for all law in the minds of our people—a serious national menace.

The Manufacturers' Record, one of the great business journals of the United States, said recently concerning this declaration:

Either that is an outrageous slander upon the American people, or it is an admission that the American people are so absolutely lawless that law which has been passed cannot be enforced even by the power of the National Government. That teaches anarchy—rank, red bolshevistic anarchy—and it means that \* \* \* men, over their own names, say that this country has

not the power to enforce a law after it has brought that law into existence! It means that this Government is so weak and powerless that criminal lawbreakers are superior to the Government! It means that these gentlemen who have signed the statement practically are giving their approval to lawbreaking, and are encouraging the lawbreakers by saying to them that the Government has no power to enforce its laws, and must on that account repeal them. It is a cowardly surrender to the criminals.

If the temperance forces could drive the liquor traffic from the field when it was solidly entrenched, they can prevent it from retaking the trenches by the same sustained, organized effort. By sworn testimony it was proved before the Judiciary Committee that the national liquor organizations boycotted dry business men, blacklisted dry politicians, subsidized the press as far as possible, subsidized individuals to speak for personal liberty and State rights in defense of liquor, stole millions from the Government by false tax returns to corrupt politics, and were disloyal to the Government when it was facing the supreme test of preparation for war. If the moral forces of the nation could dislodge that kind of a foe, they can hold the trenches from being retaken by the same sustained organized effort that secured prohibition.

Each State primary adds new evidence that there is no appreciable demand for a beer and wine or other weakening amendment to the National Prohibition act. Nominations have been made in Oregon, South Dakota, Illinois, Indiana, Pennsylvania, North Carolina, Iowa, North Dakota and Minnesota. One hundred and twenty candidates for Congress have been nominated by each of the major parties, and United States Senators also in Florida, Iowa, Pennsylvania, North Dakota, Minnesota and Indiana. There is only one instance in all these districts where a dry Congressman or Senator has been defeated by a wet candidate, and that is in the Peoria district in Illinois. There will be a hard fight made by the dries to defeat the wet Republican candidate and elect the Democratic candidate on a platform of loyalty to the Constitution. In at least four Congressional districts wet Congressmen have been replaced by dry candidates in the primaries of the dominant party. In Florida and North Carolina every Congressman who has supported national pro-

hibition was renominated. In Oregon the primary election was held on May 19. There was only one contest, and that in the Portland district. Three candidates were openly against any weakening of the Volstead act. One candidate made his campaign on a beer and wine platform. Out of 42,438 votes cast, the beer and wine candidate received 2,214.

Seventy-eight United States Senators and a majority of the members of the House come from States where the State law prohibits even 1 per cent beer. It is both futile and unfair for the liquor interests to ask Congress to repeal or amend the National Prohibition act as long as the States prohibit what they are trying to legalize by national law. The wets know that they cannot repeal the Eighteenth Amendment and so they are using every camouflage possible to prevent its enforcement. The longer the American people consider this indefensible method of attack, the greater will be the majority for law enforcement.

#### ISSUE BROADER THAN PROHIBITION

The issue which faces the people of this nation today reaches more than the friends of prohibition. It has its vital appeal to every friend of orderly government. If the outlawed liquor interests can defy the Constitution, it means that the Government

itself fails. When red-blooded Americans must choose between defiance of law by a lawless minority, and law and order, there will be no doubt as to the outcome. The whole history of the liquor traffic reveals it as a foe of orderly government and as a breeder of lawlessness. Patriotic citizens have no choice when they must choose between law enforcement and law defiance.

Lawbreakers shall not make lawmakers, nor dictate who shall enforce the laws of the nation. The fight won for prohibition enforcement means that lawlessness will be checked along every line, and orderly government strengthened. As Vice President Calvin A. Coolidge so well said recently:

Wherever the law is brought into contempt, wherever there is a failure of its enforcement, wherever the constituted authority of government fails to be supreme, wherever courts or juries refuse to act in accordance with the full requirements of their oaths of office, the very foundation on which all commercial relations must rest is swept away. Those who want to see trade flourish must be forever on the side of law and order and justice. In the end profitable commerce depends on good citizenship.

Every guarantee of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness depends upon law and order. Every personal and property right that every individual citizen has is at stake in this conflict. There can be and will be but one outcome when American citizens face this vital issue.

### THE GOLD OF CROESUS

THE wealth of Croesus has been proverbial for nearly 2,500 years. One of the most remarkable discoveries of the modern era is that of thirty gold "staters" of the coinage of Croesus recently unearthed by American archaeologists among the buried ruins of Sardis, the ancient capital of Lydia in Asia Minor. The coins, which belong to the first series of gold coins ever minted, were struck off some time between 561 B. C., when Croesus ascended the throne of Lydia, and 546, when he was captured by Cyrus, the King of Persia. They are in excellent condition,

showing plainly the lion's head and the bull's head, which were almost effaced in four of the five previously known specimens in the British Museum. The coins are still in the possession of the finders at Sardis, where, according to Dr. Shear, the archaeologist of Columbia University, they will have to remain pending a decision as to their ownership. The ruins lie in Ionia, the territory mandated to Greece by the Treaty of Sevres, which provided that in the case of such discoveries half should go to the museum in Constantinople and half should be retained by the finder.

# A GOOD WORD FOR SANTO DOMINGO

By JOHN T. VANCE JR.

Deputy General Receiver of Customs in Santo Domingo, 1913-1920

## *To the Editor of Current History:*

**A**N old Frenchman who had lived in Santo Domingo for forty years once said that the longer one stayed in that country the less one knew about it. There is much truth in this paradox, as I myself can testify after having lived in the Dominican Republic for eight years. And yet a residence of many years justifies one in protesting against statements which one knows to be incorrect and misleading.

Many things are said about Dominicans which are untrue. On behalf of this generous Creole race, who were so hospitable to me during my residence among them as an official of the customs receivership, and as a private citizen, I bespeak the indulgence of my fellow-Americans in order to correct some of the statements of Dr. Carl Kelsey of the University of Pennsylvania, who has recently made a report to the American Academy of Political and Social Science on Haiti and Santo Domingo.

Dr. Kelsey's report is timely, in view of the investigation that is being made by our Senate of the complaints against the military forces of the occupation and against the American Government for maintaining them there. Whether one agrees with Dr. Kelsey or not, one must admit that he has tried on the whole to be fair, and has not hesitated to criticize our own Government when he believed it to be in the wrong.

He has, however, made the mistake that is too often indulged in by foreigners in writing of Latin America, which is to magnify unlikeness to one's own country, people and customs in too much a spirit of levity. A rather cruel story he tells, casting aspersions on the pigmentation of the Dominicans, is typical of our attitude in general with the Dominicans. Although a few of the Marines and officers of the corps have cultivated the society of Dominicans, to a large extent the forces of the occupation have considered them as rebellious dependents, and ostracized them socially. The propagation of such stories as the one referred to tends to widen the

gulf that is rapidly growing between our neighbors and ourselves, even though they may make entertaining reading for thoughtless Americans.

Another error into which Dr. Kelsey falls, is in comparing the Government of the republic prior to American intervention with the present administration by the United States. Is it fair to the native Governments to say that, no matter how badly we have bungled matters, conditions would have been worse under their own administration? And is it fair to our own country to compare our attempts with those of a poor, backward, strife-ridden Latin-American republic? Why not compare our record in Santo Domingo and Haiti with what we did in the Philippines, Cuba and Porto Rico in the same length of time?

Other errors concern the status of agriculture, of health and public sanitation, the institution of marriage and so on. Perhaps the Dominican farmers are not as "up to date" as the Cuban or Porto Rican in certain ways, but tobacco is certainly planted and cut every year; and as to the cacao and coffee plantations, it is well known that they compare favorably with plantations on the other islands of the Caribbean Sea. It is true that the machete is widely used as a reaping instrument in Santo Domingo, but why should the machete be disparaged? No tool has been invented that cuts wood so well in a tropical country, and where farming is done on a small scale, and where time is cheap, why should the Dominican use several tools to perform especial tasks? As to health and sanitation, there was much less disease and poverty in Santo Domingo before the American occupation, the people were far cleaner, and the streets of their towns were as clean as the streets of the average American town of the same size. As to marriage, it is misleading to say that Dominicans followed in the pre-occupation days the custom of a double marriage, civil and religious. Marriage was not only expensive, but difficult as well, owing to the requirements

laid down by the Code Napoléon, which is the law of the land, and the so-called common-law marriage and concubinage, combined with a high illegitimate birth rate, have prevailed among the poorer classes. These conditions have been improved by the Military Government, which has recognized the church marriage as legal and reduced the civil fees; many illegitimate children have now been legally recognized by their parents, and many common-law spouses have been married legally as soon as they obtained the wherewithal. The statement that there was no legal obligation for parents to support their children is contradicted by Article 203 of the Civil Code.

A more important error lies in the statement that the former Secretary of War, Desiderio Arias, deposed President Jimenes and that the American marines were landed with the consent of Jimenes. There is no authority for that statement. It is true that there was a disagreement between former President Jimenes and his Secretary of War, but the latter did not depose him. The President was at that time under impeachment by the Chamber of Deputies, and Arias merely defied the President to remove him from his office as Secretary of War, maintaining that such a proceeding was illegal while the Chief Magistrate was on trial. It happened, then, that President Jimenes tried by force of arms to bring the Secretary of War to terms, and these hostilities brought on the landing of the American forces. The official words of our own American Minister, W. W. Russell, who said on May 22, 1916, that the forces had landed upon the spontaneous initiative of the American Legation in order to guard the legation, deny the alleged request of the Dominican President.

My experience with revolutions, and I witnessed two in Santo Domingo, was that they were generally harmless affairs and greatly exaggerated in the American press, although business was often interrupted and an atmosphere of uncertainty pervaded the country. Very few lives were actually lost, however—certainly not the lives of foreigners—though, to be sure, much gunpowder was spent. At the time of the American intervention I was in Santo Domingo City and living in a rather ex-

posed section during the fighting between the forces of the Dominican President and his Secretary of War, and I do not recall seeing more than one person who was wounded in that attempt to take the city from the Secretary of War, although I witnessed the assault on the city by both land and sea. A great quantity of ammunition was expended, and some few deaths occurred, though very few in comparison with the forces that were in action. Revolutions in Santo Domingo and Mexico are two entirely different things.

This internal strife had been going on intermittently in the Dominican Republic for many years, and there is no doubt that the people were tired of it, even to the extent, in many instances, of welcoming the forces of the United States to establish peace, no matter how sad they might be at the idea of having their country occupied by foreign troops.

It was the psychological moment to intervene, if one could ever agree with such action. Their own Government had not paid salaries for several months, and the clerks and merchants were desperate. Then the miracle happened. The Americans took over the finances of the Dominican Government and began to pay salaries at once. We gained at once the good-will of the people, but we apparently did not appreciate it, for the next thing we did was to refuse to recognize the new President, who had been the unanimous choice of their Congress, because he would not execute a treaty with the United States whereby, among other conditions, the Dominican President would have had an officer of the Marine Corps in charge of the Dominican Army, answerable only to the President of the United States. Then our great Government, one hundred times as large and many times as wealthy as little Santo Domingo, stopped the payment of all salaries of the public employes and officials, with the intention thereby of forcing the President to accept our terms. What a petty position for a great nation to assume! From August until December, 1916, the school teachers and clerks with small salaries either went hungry or discounted their pay with the usurers by reason of our Government's ultimatum. With no semblance of legal right or justice, we took their Treasury and tried to buy them with



their own money. The treaty has not been signed to this date, although we are still insisting on substantially the same provisions as a condition precedent to the retirement of the military Government. How can we square this action with our much-heralded love of justice?

The illustration given is one of many that show how our own official actions have welded the Dominicans more and more strongly together in their desire for independence. One of the latest examples was on the occasion of a manifestation in the capital city on a Sunday of last July. In this small town of not over 27,000 inhabitants more than 5,000 persons marched in parade as a protest against the terms of the proclamation of evacuation of June 14, 1921, and speeches were made by Dominican orators before the residence of the Military Governor and on the plaza. It was a most orderly demonstration, and there was no thought of violence of any kind among the Dominicans. The capital is the main headquarters of the Marine Corps, and an aviation camp is near by. As the parade marched up one of the principal streets along came an armored automobile manned by marines and attempted to plow its way through the procession. This happened several times, until finally it looked as if the marines were going to precipitate a fight. But cooler heads prevailed among the paraders. They urged the young bloods to stand any indignity rather than to give the forces a chance to say the Dominicans had started another revolution. And then when the crowd had finally arrived at the plaza and speeches began, a fleet of five airplanes flew back and forth over the city. Why, no one knows, unless to intimidate the people.

How different was the attitude of the Military Governor, Admiral S. S. Robison, on that afternoon! He replied courteously to the Dominicans' speech of protest delivered in front of his residence and very cordially invited some of the venerable Dominican leaders to view with him on his piazza the parade as it passed by. One can only speculate on the reason for such a lack of liaison between the Military Governor and the Marine Corps.

There are many other instances of this kind that show the military system in our dealings with the Dominicans where the

case merely called for diplomacy. They were not our enemies; we did not covet their country; and we should have cultivated their friendship as a matter of policy, if for no other reason. With our experience in Cuba, it should have been a fairly easy matter to bring about a rapprochement between the forces of occupation and the people. Many of our representatives have been diplomats as well as soldiers. The Dominicans say that they have had very little to complain of in the case of the higher officers, and for many of them they have had a real affection. They know when they are getting a square deal, and they do not hesitate to voice their appreciation. They understand that the private Marine has not been at fault, but they, as well as the Marine, wonder why his Government keeps him there. The Marine's viewpoint is shown in the story that was told during the *Semana Patriótica*, or Patriotic Week, when the Dominicans were collecting funds for their campaign for independence. A Dominican señorita came up to a Marine as he was loafing in the plaza and asked him to buy a ticket to the benefit performance which was going to take place that evening in the Colon Theatre. "How much," he inquired, "and what's it for?" She promptly answered that it was for the purpose of getting the Americans out of Santo Domingo. "Gimme two," said the Marine, "and I don't care how much they cost."

Having given our word to withdraw the American forces from the Dominican Republic, by implication in the proclamation of occupation and expressly in the proclamation issued by Admiral Snowden before the end of President Wilson's Administration, we should keep our pledge, and not quibble too much about the manner of our evacuation. I do not say that the Dominican leaders have not been playing politics, and using one of our political parties against the other in order to gain advantages, but who can blame them for that? They are not the only ones who play the game. Perhaps they only pretended to believe in the campaign utterances of President Harding and others, and became Republicans for the moment, as they were all "outs" trying to get in at the same time. The Republican leaders, during the absence of their party from

power, repeatedly showed great sympathy for the Dominicans, but upon regaining control at Washington they have thus far failed to prove it.

The first thing to do is to withdraw the Marines from all ordinary police activity in the Dominican Republic. They ought to be removed as far away as possible from contact with the people, for their presence among a civilian population is the cause of more trouble and more anti-American sentiment than any other thing, and the abolition of the Military Government should take place as rapidly as possible.

During the discussion of the Siberian question at the Washington conference we heard Baron Shidehara assert that civil disorders still demanded the presence of Japanese troops on Siberian soil, but Mr. Hughes responded most emphatically that foreign troops tended to increase local disorders rather than to allay them, and expressed regret that Japan should have seized Saghalin in reprisal for a massacre.

Let us put our own sermon into practice. Our Government has for some time sincerely wished to abolish the Military Gov-

ernment and to withdraw the Marines from Santo Domingo. Our terms of withdrawal, however, have the element of duress attached to them. At least while the negotiations are going on we ought to obviate, as far as possible, the presence of our Marines among a civilian population which even now is not unfriendly to the United States.

Any extension of the Monroe Doctrine in the sense that we are obligated to Europe to guarantee the stability of the nation of the Western Hemisphere, inasmuch as we will not let her intervene there, is rather extreme in view of the state in which Europe finds herself at this time. If there was ever a time in the history of the world when Europe was not thinking of interfering in the Western Hemisphere, it is the present. Let us rather stick to the good old-fashioned doctrine as interpreted by Roosevelt, Wilson and Harding. A policy of intervention and internal regulation would lead us in the end to do that which we refuse to allow Europe to do.

509 Union Trust Building, Washington, D. C.,  
June 16, 1922.

### THE KEYSTONE OF AMERICAN LIBERTY

**I**N commemoration of the signing of Magna Charta by King John at Runnymede, England, June 15, 1215, a special service was held on Sunday, June 18, 1922, in New York's imposing new cathedral of St. John the Divine. Three stones from the High Altar of the ruined Abbey of Bury St. Edmunds, upon which the great charter was said to have been laid—the gift of the Marquis of Bristol to the cathedral—were unveiled. George W. Wickersham, Attorney General under President Taft, and the Rev. Howard C. Robbins, dean of the cathedral, addressed the congregation, which included representatives from the English-Speaking Union, the Canadian Club of New York, the Sulgrave Institution and the British Schools and Universities Club. The English-speaking peoples, said Mr. Wickersham, had enjoyed greater liberties than other peoples since the thir-

teenth century, because they had maintained the principles of this great thirteenth century pact. In obvious allusion both to prohibition and to the Supreme Court of the United States, whose decisions have been attacked recently by the American Federation of Labor, he declared that "impatience to this judicial restraint, when it affects a popular desire or a momentary interest of a class, must not blind the people to the fact that without it there could be no security for the rights of man or of any body of men." Dean Robbins expressed the hope that the Bury St. Edmunds stones built into the cathedral would remain the symbol of "the bond of community of political tradition, the bond of participation in a great common inheritance of ordered freedom, which today unites the free English-speaking Commonwealths throughout the world."

# PROGRESS ON GERMAN REPARATIONS

*An account of the difficulties which prevented the Bankers' Committee from arranging a foreign loan for Germany—Mr. Morgan's explanation—Text of the committee's final report*

[Period Ended July 10, 1922]

**A**FTER the crisis of May 31 was relieved by the German Government's acceptance of the Reparation Commission's demands it was generally conceded that the prospects of a satisfactory reparation settlement were brighter than they had been for many months. (See July CURRENT HISTORY, page 658.) The commission had found the German reply on the whole acceptable and had so notified Berlin on May 31—with certain reservations. Translated into concrete facts, the commission's acceptance of the German reply meant that the reparations demanded under the Versailles Treaty and otherwise for the year 1922 would be provisionally scaled down to 720,000,000 gold marks, payable as set forth in the commission's note of March 21, plus the payments in kind.

Attempts by the German Nationalists in the Reichstag to nullify the Government's acceptance of the allied demands met with complete failure, and the Bankers' Committee in Paris, which had been called together by the Reparation Commission to discuss the feasibility of floating a foreign loan for Germany up to at least \$1,000,000,000, and which, after two days' discussions, had adjourned (May 26) until after Germany had replied to the allied ultimatum, was now notified that all was smooth sailing. The importance of this committee's discussions was placed beyond dispute by the fact that the German Government made its acceptance of the Reparation Commission's demands rather plainly contingent on the obtaining of an international loan. On the renewed discussions of the Bankers' Committee, not only German eyes, however, but French eyes were turned with considerable anxiety, though for different reasons. The Germans based all their hopes of being able to satisfy their obliga-

tions in the immediate future on the successful outcome of these discussions. The French, on the other hand, feared that the bankers would attempt to scale down the amount of reparation, and especially the annual payments scheduled as due from Germany. This fear was so strong in Premier Poincaré's mind that on June 2 he sent to Louis Dubois, the French official representative on the Reparation Commission, formal instruction that there must be no reduction, or even discussion of reduction, should this be suggested by the Bankers' Committee as necessary for the flotation of a German loan, and the Premier strongly defended this action in person in the French Chamber. The importance of this step was shown by the later developments.

France's attitude placed the bank experts in a quandary, and when they applied to the Reparation Commission for a ruling on the conflicting British and French instructions, the subject roused a storm within the commission itself. The issue was this: Should the Bankers' Committee be allowed to speak out boldly as to what steps it considered necessary for a loan, or should it be refused liberty of discussion in all questions affecting the uncompromising French demands? A hard-fought battle developed in the commission on June 6 and continued on June 7. The British representative, Sir John Bradbury, clashed with M. Dubois, the French delegate, over the scope to be given to the bankers' discussions, the British view being that the committee should not be limited. The battle ended on June 7 with the defeat of the French delegate, the Belgian delegate going over to the British view, under the influence of arguments presented by Roland W. Boyden, the "unofficial" American observer, and the Italian dele-



gate falling also into line. The French delegate held to his instructions from M. Poincaré, but the commission notified the bankers that they had full power of discussion.

On the receipt of this answer the Bankers' Committee resumed its sessions (June 7), but a clash similar to that in the Reparation Commission at once made itself felt. The discussions continued until June 10, when the committee adjourned, after reaching regretfully the decision that any loan was impossible in the circumstances. When the committee drew up a final report to this effect M. Sergent, the French member, refused to sign it.

#### MR. MORGAN'S STATEMENT

In explanation of the formal report J. P. Morgan issued this informal statement:

When I was invited by the Reparation Commission to serve on the Bankers' Committee, I had some hesitation in accepting, as it appeared that under the terms of the reference I could accomplish little more by coming to Paris than by cable advice from New York. Upon further consideration, however, I felt that the matter was of such enormous importance to Europe, and also to the United States because of its commercial relations with Europe, that I could not well refuse. Therefore, in the hope that something constructive could be arrived at, I came purely as a private citizen, holding no authority from my Government to discuss in any way matters under its control, but as a banker engaged in the distribution of securities in the investment markets of the United States and representing those markets only in so far as their condition might permit.

I explained at the first meeting of the committee that there is no interest in the United States in a loan to Germany per se. There is, however, in my opinion, a growing appreciation in the United States of the fact that its own prosperity is to a degree dependent upon the prosperity of the allied nations and that the prosperity of the latter is, in a large degree, dependent upon the rehabilitation of German credit. I consequently believed that the American banker and investor could be interested to a substantial degree in the purchase of German obligations if two fundamental conditions were satisfactorily established:

First—Such a loan should be at the request and would be for the benefit of the allied nations. This could be in no way better expressed than by the active co-operation of the private bankers of the allied countries in the distribution of the German securities to their own nationals.

Second—Through the technical security to be given by Germany and the rehabilitation of its internal financial situation, Germany should clearly show a desire to meet its obligations, in the hope that by the fulfillment of these obliga-

tions it could re-establish its credit as one of the commercial nations of the world.

Shortly stated, therefore, the two fundamental conditions of American participation were, in my opinion, unanimity among the lenders and the establishment of the credit of the borrower.

Early in the discussions of the committee it became apparent that there was a difference between the English and French texts of the reference from the Reparation Commission to the Bankers' Committee. This difference touched the very root of the matter in that the French reading definitely prohibited the committee from giving consideration to the schedule of payments as now determined, thus preventing any practical recommendations as to the basis upon which a loan to a potentially solvent Germany could be devised. The English text, on the other hand, was susceptible of a broader interpretation.

The committee, however, impressed with the importance of the subject under consideration, rather than report immediately that no loan was possible under the terms of the reference, asked the Reparation Commission to define exactly the terms of reference. An answer was received which was supported only by three of the four members of the Reparation Commission, the French member dissenting, to the effect that the committee should discuss all questions which might have a bearing upon the general re-establishment of Germany's external credit.

In the meantime, official statements had been made in Paris to the effect that the Bankers' Committee was attempting to decrease the amount of the German obligation to the Reparation Commission, and that this could not be tolerated by the French Government. The committee had never thought, and in this I agreed completely, that it had any power to pass upon the sums owing by the German Government, but merely that it had been requested to advise the Reparation Commission as to a basis upon which Germany could raise a loan. There had been no discussion of the capital amounts of reparations, but only of a possible arrangement of the annual payments. These annual payments, either in cash or in kind, are the only method whereby Germany can effect payment of its just debts.

In view of the foregoing, I was forced to the reluctant conclusion that neither of the conditions stated above, which I believe to be essential to a loan to Germany, could be complied with and that no loan to Germany of the character necessary in the situation could be offered to and purchased by the American investor. As it was to advise on this point alone that I was invited to serve on the committee by the Reparation Commission, it was necessary for me to explain this fact to the committee, as I am not competent and am therefore unwilling to advise on matters which pertain solely to the European Governments.

I am now and shall continue to be ready to do everything in my power to assist in the solution of the problems which confront the economic life of Europe, but I believe that in so far as such problems depend for their solution upon an international loan to Germany, in which the American investor would take part, the solution is not



possible without a general settlement of the reparations question and only as a part of such settlement. Undoubtedly a settlement of this question involves the consideration and arrangement of many other questions which must be settled between the Governments in order to arrive at the unanimity required for the first condition of a loan.

The full official text of the Bankers' Committee report will be found at the end of this article. It left the situation practically the same as when the committee had assembled on May 24. The possibility of a new crisis between Germany and the Allies became at once apparent. Germany, having based her acceptance on the obtaining of an international loan, now stood in the position of not having accepted the May 31 ultimatum. One favorable feature was that the German Government was completely up to date on its reduced schedule of payments. The May installment had been paid. The June payment of 50,000,000 gold marks due on June 15 was also duly canceled, and it was said at this time that the Germans would be able also to meet their obligation in July and August. Just what attitude France would now assume depended very much on the temper of the French Chamber, the attitude of Premier Poincaré and the results attained in Berlin by the Guarantee Committee of the Reparation Commission, which left Paris on June 17 to take up with the German Government the situation caused by the failure of the bankers to arrange a loan, and also to organize the control of the receipts and expenditures and of the illicit export of capital.

#### NEW NOTE TO GERMANY.

The Reparation Commission sent another note to Berlin on June 14. With regard to the subject of a forced loan, it said: "The commission understands that all arrangements will be made in due time for receipts collected in this respect before Jan. 1, 1923, to reach the minimum figure of 40,000,000,000 marks." The commission's note also asked for details as to the ways and means with which the Government proposed to meet the deficit on extraordinary expenditure on the railroads of nearly 17,000,000,000 and on the postal service of 2,500,000,000. With regard to autonomy of the Reichsbank the commission pointed out that while the law of May 25 withdrew from the Govern-

ment the right of direct intervention in the conduct of the operations of the bank, the personnel of the bank must also have full independence and that appointments and salaries should be left to the decision of the shareholders. While not demanding that a new law be framed to provide for this further liberty of bank directors and employes, the commission emphasized strongly that it expected to see the law applied in accordance with its wishes. The note then continued:

The commission is of the opinion that the German Government should forthwith take in hand the preparation of measures which will have to be introduced at a later stage to re-establish reasonable limitations of the right of issue of the bank, and that it should set itself resolutely to the task of applying them progressively as soon and as quickly as circumstances permit. Failing such action, there is great danger that the sacrifices which the German people are being called upon to make to check expansion of the floating debt will fail to realize the end in view.

#### INFLATION NOT CHECKED

In contrast with these demands, the German press, after another sharp fall in the value of the mark, began again to advocate new inflation in order to meet the future monthly payments, this view being expressed even by papers which last Autumn had approved Chancellor Wirth's statement that such inflation must cease. It was considered doubtful if the Reichsbank would have accumulated sufficient amounts of high currency foreign bills to meet the July 15 and Aug. 15 payments. Herr Erkelenz, the leader of the Democratic Party, declared on June 17 that, if no alternative method could be found, inflation must continue; that being better than acceptance of the Stinnes plan to default and tolerate occupation of the Ruhr.

Chancellor Wirth had his first meeting with the Guarantee Commission on June 20. Effective measures, he said, must immediately be taken to stem the further decline of the mark, unless all the plans for making reparations were to go by the board. His implication that the Reichsbank might have temporarily to suspend the monthly payments in order to check the downward course of the mark created a flurry on the stock market on June 21, followed by a further fall of the mark. Discussions of the Guarantee Committee with the Berlin Government continued into July.

The additional reparations problem of the payments in kind has, in the last months, undergone considerable vicissitudes. The special agreement reached by M. Loucheur, for France, with Dr. Rathenau at Wiesbaden dragged on for many months without ratification. Meanwhile a new agreement, based on direct interchange of goods between German dealers and French consumers, to apply on Germany's reparations debt, was reached by M. Bemelmans, representing the Reparation Commission, with representatives of the German Government in February. This agreement, in a revised form, was confirmed on June 2, and approved by the commission on June 16. It was so drawn as to enable the German exporter to receive compensation direct from his Government, such payments to apply on the reparations account, and was hailed as an important achievement in France. On June 18, however, the Minister of Liberated Regions announced that France would not ratify this agreement, and had decided to revert to the Wiesbaden pact,

subject to the modifying protocols of March 15 and June 8. (The right to accept or reject the Bemelmans agreement was expressly stipulated in Article 2.) The French Foreign Affairs Commission was studying the Loucheur-Rathenau compact at the end of June. The original agreement was admitted to be cumbersome, but it was stated that the modifying protocols remedied this disadvantage and paved the way to direct exchanges as under the Bemelmans arrangement.

At the end of June, on the other hand, a new project for payments in kind was brought forward by the French Minister of Public Works, Yves Le Trocquer, who advocated that great public works in France be constructed by German labor and material on behalf of reparations. There was much public approval of this scheme, as reflected in the French press. If it goes through it will have to have the approval of the Reparation Commission, becoming subject to the usual long discussions and delays which have marked the whole course of the reparations fulfillment.

## REPORT OF THE BANKERS' COMMITTEE

The text of the following report was issued at Paris by the Bankers' Committee, officially known as the International Loan Committee, on June 10, when the committee adjourned after deciding that an international loan for Germany was impossible under existing circumstances. The personal statement of Mr. Morgan in elucidation of this report will be found in the foregoing pages. The report was transmitted to the Reparation Commission, from which this committee had received its powers. After reciting the commission's original instructions and citing the reply which had given the bankers full powers, the report continued:

On receipt of this reply, indicating that the chief creditor of Germany did not desire that any recommendation should be made which would involve the possibility of new limitations on Germany's obligations, the committee decided that they could not usefully for the time being continue their inquiries and that they ought therefore to confine themselves to furnishing a reply to the question originally addressed to them, taken in its more restrictive sense, and at the same time give their reasons for this decision.

At the outset the committee desire to make their own position clear beyond the possibility of misconception. The members of the committee were invited by the unanimous decision of the Reparation Commission to come to Paris in order that they might give technical advice as bankers on the conditions on which an external loan could be raised by Germany. At no time have they had the wish to usurp wider functions.

They fully realized throughout that their technical advice once given would constitute but one factor in the problem which was to be solved by the Reparation Commission and by the allied Governments alone. As soon as they met, the bankers of the committee were unanimous in their opinion that for various reasons they could not within the limits of their terms of reference, understood in their more restrictive sense, offer any prospect of an external loan.

Certain members, however, were of the opinion that, if the commission or the Governments made a more definite statement than at present exists regarding annual payments which they intend to exact from Germany, such a loan could be favorably considered. Had they received a unanimous invitation to state what limitations of these payments were, in their opinion, a necessary condition of external credit, these members would have been glad to do so.

Such limitations would, however, have been recommended only as conditions of a loan, if a

loan were desired. They would have implied no view as to the amounts which the commission could or should enforce if the Governments were content to wait for the annual payments, without mobilizing them beforehand by a loan.

The commission or Governments, even if they had considered the opinion of the committee to be a sound one, would nevertheless have been perfectly free to decide that they preferred to continue to consider from year to year the capacity of Germany, and to determine the payments accordingly.

In other words, any figures mentioned would necessarily have represented an opinion not as to the probable maximum capacity of Germany, but as to sums which the lending public of the world, forming its judgment amid all the perplexities of the present situation, would confidently believe would be well within Germany's capacity.

Payments even so cautiously estimated would still be very considerable. The committee recognizes that the allied Governments might nevertheless desire, even at the cost of foregoing the loan, to retain full liberty to exact larger annual sums, which Germany's developing capacity might later render possible. The Governments would not only have been at full liberty to take such a decision, but, if taken, it would have been in no way inconsistent with the technical advice of the committee.

If this advice had been given, however, a decision could have been taken in the light of clearly presented alternatives. In these circumstances the committee were left to consider whether they could usefully continue their studies in response to the majority invitation of the commission. They decided that for the time being they could not do so, for the following reasons:

1. France is Germany's chief creditor. In any reparations problems her interests are the most important factor. The members of the committee had hoped that the chief benefit of any advice they could have given would have been derived by France. They are all extremely anxious that no action of theirs should injure her interests. If, therefore, France does not now desire any inquiry into the more general conditions necessary for the re-establishment of Germany's external credit, the committee do not feel justified in undertaking such inquiry. They are confirmed in this view by the consideration that in the existing circumstances they could not have profited by the assistance of their French colleague.

2. As explained below, the committee consider that a favorable atmosphere is essential to successful flotation of a loan. The known difference of view among the members of the commission as to the limit of the committee's mandate have for the time being created an atmosphere unfavorable to such an issue. The bankers on the committee cannot fail to take into account this fact, being aware that if they advise as to the conditions of a loan they incur moral responsibility to do all in their power to make the loan successful.

For the above reasons the committee decided that they must suspend their work for the present, feeling that they were thus unable to take advantage of the majority invitation of the com-

mission to extend the scope of their deliberations. The committee considered the problem presented under the original mandate as it was understood in its more restricted sense.

On the assumption that the present provisions of the Treaty of Versailles and the schedule of payments remain unchanged, is an external loan possible, and, if so, under what conditions? The committee was confronted with the following difficulties:

(a) It was understood that the re-establishment of the general credit of Germany is impossible so long as the lending public feel no assurance that the obligations of Germany as they are at present defined and as they may be enforced are within her capacity or that her will and intention to meet them will be maintained. So long as this is the position, an investor is bound to be influenced by the possibility that a collapse of German finance resulting from present uncertainty may produce a social upheaval. It is, however, difficult to find securities which under such conditions would be regarded as a satisfactory guarantee for a loan or, at least, for any loan of such dimensions, and for such terms as to give substantial relief to the situation.

Even first-class security like the customs, which under stable conditions would provide a sound guarantee for a considerable loan, might fail to retain sufficient gold value if the economic position of Germany or her social conditions were seriously disorganized. Such possibilities may be remote, but the investor in a long dated note naturally tends to envisage the worst rather than the probable.

(b) It was stated that investors in some of the most important countries, notably the United States and Great Britain, would find no real attraction in a loan to Germany which was not calculated to promote the permanent settlement of the reparations problem. And it is obvious that even if a loan could be raised on the basis of assigned securities, rather than on the basis of Germany's general credit, it could at best do no more than assure a short respite, and thereafter Germany would be faced with her undiminished reparation obligations, with the further handicap that her best securities would have been already mortgaged for the service of a loan.

In the meantime both Germany and the rest of the world would have been suffering from continued uncertainty, which in every country is a serious obstacle to economic recovery. Thus, even if such a loan were possible, it would represent at best the payment of a heavy price merely in order to wait for conditions which might be more favorable for a general settlement.

(c) It was also stated that investors in countries which took no part in the war were suffering severely from the depreciation of the mark, partly because they had invested heavily in marks and partly because the commercial competition of German industry derived artificial advantage from this continued depreciation, and it was stated that in these circumstances they also would feel no interest in a loan which offered no prospect of establishing Germany's finances on a stable foundation.

(d) Again as regards France, it was stated



that a limited loan would encounter great difficulties, since only a small proportion of it could at best return directly to France as reparations. Realizing these and other difficulties, and feeling that they ought not to recommend a loan of which they could not confidently anticipate a successful issue in their respective markets, the members of the committee have with great regret arrived at the conclusion that under the present conditions they cannot advise that an external loan is feasible.

Having regard, however, to this negative conclusion, the committee, while feeling unable to accept the majority invitation of the commission to examine in detail the wider problem, consider that they may usefully add the following general observations upon it:

(a) An essential condition of an external loan at any time is that the public should feel that Germany is herself making a real and substantial effort to place her public finances upon a stable basis. It is of the greatest importance that, through the technical security to be given by Germany in the rehabilitation of her financial situation, she should clearly show a desire to meet her obligations, in the hope that by the fulfillment of these obligations she will re-establish her credit.

(b) A second essential condition is that dealt with in detail above, viz., removal of the present uncertainty regarding reparation obligations.

(c) The committee had before them the statement that American bankers and investors could in these circumstances be interested in a substantial degree in the purchase of German obligations, but only if one further fundamental condition was satisfied, namely, that such a loan should be at the unanimous request and for the benefit of the allied nations. This unanimity could be in no way better expressed than by the active co-operation of the bankers of the allied and neutral countries in the distribution of securities to their own nationals.

Among the fundamental conditions of American participation, therefore, was unanimity among the leaders as well as the establishment of the credit of the borrower.

(d) Most of the members of the committee are well aware that any advice of theirs, while it might have assisted, could not in itself have secured these conditions. They fully realize, for example, that if they recommend as an essential condition of a loan a limitation of Germany's annual payments, the countries concerned in considering the effect on their financial situation would necessarily have in mind their own external indebtedness. They realize that a solution, however desirable in itself, might, in fact, prove to be impracticable unless it were preliminary to other financial adjustments.

The element of uncertainty which accentuates the burden of Germany's obligation is also a serious factor in the case of the external public debts of the allied countries. In this connection the committee desires to recall that in considering the conditions of the re-establishment of Germany's general credit they regard the certainty as essential; mere leniency in enforcement, such

as the commission may show without modifying the total obligation, is not sufficient.

Such questions, however, as interallied indebtedness are outside their competence and cannot therefore be discussed here. But the committee cannot ignore the fact that in the minds of those who consider any adjustments of reparation obligations they are bound to be discussed, and that they are among the factors in the problem of securing that desirable allied agreement which they consider one of the essential conditions of a loan to Germany.

In this connection they have in mind the consistent principle contained in the advice of economists and financial experts since the memorandum submitted on Jan. 15, 1920, to the Governments of the several European countries and the United States, principles which were accepted by the Brussels financial conference from September to October, 1920, and have recently been endorsed by the Genoa conference of 1922.

In conclusion, if the committee felt obliged to be discouraging as to the prospects of a loan in the present position of Germany's credit, they desire to be no less emphatic in stating their conviction that, provided necessary conditions for the revival of her credit can be realized, substantial loans could be successfully floated in all the main markets of the world.

Purely financial conditions are now definitely favorable to the issue of such loans, more favorable than at any time since the war. The committee wish to assure the commission that it is their earnest desire to do everything in their power to assist in raising such loans if the conditions to which they have referred can be secured. They are deeply conscious of the immense assistance to the economic recovery of the whole world which would be afforded by a gradual conversion of Germany's obligation from a debt to Governments into a debt to private investors, based, like other public debts, not upon external sanctions, but upon the general credit of the debtor country. They believe, indeed, that the resumption of normal conditions between countries and the stabilization of exchanges are impossible without a definite settlement of the reparation payments as of other external public debts.

If at any time, therefore, the commission is able to repeat the unanimous decision the invitation which has now been extended by the majority, the committee will be glad to meet again and resume the inquiry which has now been interrupted. They cannot conjecture whether the allied Governments would be able to accept the necessary conditions, but, if so, they repeat that they are hopeful that substantial loans could be raised.

Finally, the committee desire to point out that in the meantime, and even during the interval between such renewed invitation and the conclusion of subsequent negotiations, Germany's financial position may obviously be threatened with serious danger, and that protracted negotiations for a large long-term loan might mature too late, if not preceded by immediate help. But if the problem were considered anew in the improved circumstances suggested and with a real prospect of an ultimate settlement, the committee



feel that the obstacles which at present confront an interim loan would probably not prove to be insuperable.

With a real hope of a definite settlement within a reasonable period it would be much easier to arrange a shorter term secured loan sufficient to save German credit from collapse during the period of negotiation. The committee need scarcely add that they would be glad under these circumstances to give any assistance in their power with regard to such a limited loan as well as in regard to the larger and more important problem.

LEON DELACROIX, Chairman, Belgium.  
M. d'AMELIO, Vice Chairman, Italy.  
J. PIERPONT MORGAN, United States.  
R. M. KINDERSLEY, Great Britain.  
I. VISSERING, Holland.  
G. BERGMANN, Germany.

#### THE MINORITY FINDING

Monsieur Sergent is unable to associate himself with the above conclusions and with some of the statements or suggestions contained in the present report referring to numerous remarks made by him in the course of the committee's deliberations.

He makes the general statement that he cannot, in order to promote a loan, contemplate new limitations in Germany's liability which do not appear to him to be justifiable, nor any diminution whatsoever of the rights of France recognized by the treaty.

In agreement with the French delegate on the Reparation Commission, he is of the opinion that it is not within the competence of the Committee of Bankers to inquire into modifications in the obligation of the German Government as defined by the Treaty of Versailles and, in particular, in the schedule of payments of May 5, 1921.

## THE REVISION OF AMERICAN HISTORY

THE present tendency in the United States to revise American history as written and taught in the public schools has recently been exemplified along totally different lines in two different sections of the country. Much public clamor was aroused in New York by charges that the textbooks used in the schools were partial to Great Britain in their treatment of the causes of the Revolution and depreciative of stirring events and great colonial personalities. The New York Board of Education appointed an investigating committee to sift these charges, and the committee's report sustained the charges in full, recommending revision of all historical textbooks now used.

If the North has been disturbed over allegedly false accounts of the Revolution, the South, on its part, has been equally displeased by the viewpoint set forth by the Northern textbooks regarding the origins of the Civil War. This displeasure was strongly expressed by a report of the Historical Committee of Virginia, submitted to the United Confederate Veterans' Association in Richmond on June 21, 1922. The report made a vitriolic attack upon Abra-

ham Lincoln, whom it declared to be the prime mover in a great conspiracy to force civil war upon the South. It recommended that a history book written by Colonel Huger W. Jackson of Curryville, Ga., and published by Miss Mildred Rutherford of Athens, Ga., be used in all the schools of the South. "The young children of the South," the report added, "will now be taught that the South was right, eternally right \* \* \* in fighting for principles upon which our glorious country was founded."

The charge against Lincoln elicited a strong protest from many Northern historians, and especially from Henry B. Rankin of Springfield, Ill., an octogenarian, who studied law in Lincoln's office, and who has written several books about this great and gentle personality. "Lincoln was most essentially a man of peace," said Mr. Rankin. "He detested war. During the war he went with Seward and met the Confederate Cabinet and challenged them to write whatever conditions of peace they desired, except secession." The charge of a conspiracy centering about Lincoln he denounced as false on its face.

# THE PARADOX OF GERMANY

By HENRY D. THOMASON

Colonel U. S. Army, Retired

*Why the German people are prosperous commercially and industrially under an apparently bankrupt Government—Explanation of the paradox in the low exchange value of the mark*

ON Friday (day of ill omen), Aug. 1, 1914, Germany declared war. It was a sad day for Germany. More is the pity that the German people did not then recognize it, and, instead of falling upon one another's necks and weeping for joy on that fatal day at the act of an egotistical and weak-minded Emperor and his coterie of military and other fawning retainers, did not then and there assert themselves. On the contrary, it required more than four bloody years of war and the cost of many billions of treasure and millions of lives before the masses of the German people finally took the reins of government into their own hands and displaced the leaders who had so recklessly plunged the nation into war.

Despite the unity and enthusiasm that followed the declaration of war, it is an error to charge the great mass of the German people with the responsibility. They were contented, happy and prosperous. The existence of such conditions gave confidence and rendered the people enthusiastically loyal and grateful to a Government that by its thorough and systematic methods, combined with their own indomitable work and industry, had brought about this happy and prosperous state. They had been accustomed for generations to recognize and respect their leaders, and under war hysteria they followed those leaders to the bitter end, until, in November, 1918, the scales fell from their eyes, and realization came to them in the ultimate defeat.

One thing must be admitted—the war left them more united as a people than before. That the Imperial German Government in 1914 was concerned at the rapid increase and popularity of the Social Democratic Party is no secret, and this had more than a little to do in influencing a decision for war in order to unite the people and to inflict a crushing blow to

growing opposition to imperial power and government. Social Democracy, relatively a negligible quantity at the foundation of the German Empire in 1871, when it polled 101,927 votes, had progressively increased with each subsequent decade, as shown by election returns, until, in 1912, the last election held in the empire, this political group polled no less than 4,250,400 votes. Not in numbers only was Social Democracy increasing, but alarmingly also in representation in the Reichstag, where in 1914 there were 110 Social Democrats to 58 Conservatives. This party representation and its followers were opposing more and more boldly the established forms, methods and policies of the imperial Government—an opposition manifested in no uncertain way upon the adjournment of the Reichstag in 1914, a few weeks before the declaration of war, when the Social Democrats ignored the time-honored custom of rising and cheering for the Emperor and remained seated and silent, while the Conservatives alone did the cheering.

How different the world would be today had the German people as a whole had as clear a vision in 1914 as in 1918, and had they asserted their rights at the time the Government insisted on declaring war! Present chaotic conditions throughout the entire war confirm the truism that the innocent must suffer for the guilty. It is true that the masses of the German people, especially the commercial, industrial and laboring classes, are suffering less than the peoples of the victorious nations; but the old aristocracy, the employes and pensioners of the Government, the learned professions, and, in fact, all intellectual classes are in actual want because of the serious depreciation of currency and the excessive rise in prices caused by this depreciation.

There is still practically no unemploy-

ment. The industrial plants are working at full pressure, and orders in many instances exceed capacity. Apparently there is no lack of capital to increase output; new, and in many instances elaborate, construction, both domestic and industrial, is noticeable. In short, go where you will—I speak from personal observation covering a sojourn of nine months—Germany impresses one with the idea that she is in a healthy condition. Certainly she is working hard. Her Sunday and holiday crowds could not be gayer, happier or apparently more prosperous. The dance halls, cafés, restaurants, theatres, operas and railroad trains are well filled—and not by foreigners, but by Germans. Not the old substantial aristocrats and intellectuals, it is true, for these as a class are now too poor to engage in luxury of any sort. Today these remain apart, living lives of extreme self-denial, nursing their grievances. When necessity compels travel, it is by fourth-class railroad carriage that they must fare.

Looking at Germany from a surface viewpoint and as a composite picture, and comparing this picture of industrial prosperity with present commercial and labor situations in England and the United States, the very natural query arises, after all that has been said and done, who really won the war? Some one has tersely remarked that "Germany is the beaten victorious nation."

And then another query presents itself: How is it possible for such apparently prosperous conditions to exist in a country where money seems plentiful, certainly enough to purchase sufficient raw material in foreign markets to keep industry going despite a depreciated currency and fluctuating exchange, and to continue to exist under a Government admittedly tottering on the verge of bankruptcy and loudly proclaiming before the world that it cannot meet the reparations and other obligations imposed by the Versailles Treaty!

The situation is certainly paradoxical. There must be a reason; let us see if it can be explained. Also let us see if the contention of the German Government that it cannot meet its reparations obligations is a sound one.

The first situation, a prosperous people, but a poor and all but bankrupt Gov-

ernment, should not be difficult to understand. First and most important of all, one must consider the low value of the mark. This, the German Government maintains, is due entirely to the reparation demands. This low mark value, however, is probably the principal factor in explaining present industrial prosperity. German industry, owing to this low rate, is at present better employed than that of any other country. Because of this low value, goods are manufactured and marketed for foreign consumption cheaper than in any other industrial country in the world, and, as every one knows, the world buys where it can buy the cheapest. This explains Germany's present prosperity.

Whether this is a healthy and permanent prosperity is another story. The Government and the most eminent economic German authorities maintain that the present industrial prosperity is fictitious, and at best but temporary. They insist that German industry is continually consuming its own substance, and argue that an industrial company paying a dividend of 20 per cent. in paper marks really represents but one-quarter of 1 per cent. of its investments originally made in gold marks; or that a dividend of 100 per cent. would actually represent 2 1-2 per cent. of the value of its investments.

#### LOW CURRENCY AND THE BUDGET

Is the contention of the German Government that it cannot meet the requirements of the Versailles Treaty honest and sound? This is a still more complicated question. The German Government contends that the fantastic depreciation, fluctuation and instability of the mark make it impossible for Germany to "balance her budget." Failing to accomplish this, it has been severely taken to task by the Allied Reparation Commission and roughly criticised by French and other allied powers, who, anxious to place their own houses in order, have been looking for compliance with the reparation program.

The German Government maintains that this depreciation of the mark has had catastrophic effects on the budget. For example, the estimates for 1922 are placed at 265,000,000,000 paper marks. Chancellor Wirth a short time ago declared that

## BUDGET ESTIMATES FOR 1922

	Marks.	Percentages.
Requirements of the Peace Treaty.....	188,000,000,000	70.7
General Administration .....	9,500,000,000	3.6
Economic and Cultural Work .....	2,300,000,000	0.9
Social Burdens .....	7,100,000,000	2.7
Army and Navy .....	4,700,000,000	1.8
Police .....	1,900,000,000	0.7
Deficit on Railroads and Post .....	9,200,000,000	3.5
Disabled Soldiers and Pensions .....	11,200,000,000	4.2
Contributions to Municipalities .....	2,000,000,000	0.2
Interest on State Debt .....	29,800,000,000	11.2
Total .....	265,700,000,000	100.00

because of the radical depreciation of the mark since compilation of the above estimate, 45,000,000,000 paper marks must be added, thus raising the estimate to 300,700,000,000 paper marks. The table presented gives the condensed official budget estimate for the present year.

By reference to the above table it will be noted that of the sum total 188,000,000,000 paper marks are estimated to meet the requirements of the Peace Treaty, leaving for administration and domestic needs over 77,000,000,000 paper marks. In other words, this estimate shows that approximately two-thirds of the total estimates goes for reparations, and one-third for the necessities of government.

To return to the unprecedented situation of an apparent prosperity existing under an all but bankrupt Government, it would seem that what in popular parlance is sauce for the goose may not be palatable food to the gander. If the contention of the German Government is correct, that the stability and an increased purchasing power of the mark must be established by a long-time foreign loan or by a long moratorium, granted for meeting the requirements of the Peace Treaty in order to balance the budget and place Government finances in order, then there is great danger that the present industrial prosperity bubble may burst and vanish into thin air.

The commercialists and industrialists actually fear this. Representatives from the National (monarchical) political party and the Industrial political party appeared before a Cabinet meeting late in June and protested against a foreign loan or an agreement that the Allied Reparation Commission should supervise the Government finances, on the ground that either situation would suddenly stabilize the mark. They argued that if this happened, and the mark were stabilized say at 250 to the dollar, the manufacturers would lose a quarter of their foreign marks. Should it rise and stabilize at 200 or 150 to the dollar, big industry could not compete with British and American goods in the world market, and distress and unemployment must result. It would be preferable, they declared, that the "sanctions," involving the occupation of the Ruhr, should be accepted if it came to this.

## TAXATION TO THE UTMOST

The charge is frequently made that the Germans are not paying the proportion of taxes exacted in the United States, England and France; that the impost is not so heavy; that there is much evasion of taxation, and that it is for these reasons that the reparation obligations are not being met. I have been at infinite pains to investigate, in so far as my opportunities offered, the truth or the untruth of these



## TAXES ON INCOME AT RATE OF EXCHANGE OF

INCOME.	£1 = 1,000 Marks 1 Franc = 10 Marks \$1 = 250 Marks				From Wages and Salaries				From Business and Profession				From Farming				From Investments			
	Single Man Above 30				Married Man With 2 Minor Children				Married Man With 2 Minor Children				Married Man With 2 Minor Children				Married Man With 2 Minor Children			
Marks.	Germany	England	France	United States	Germany	England	France	United States	Germany	England	France	United States	Germany	England	France	United States	Germany	England	France	United States
10,000 = £10 1,000 fms. 840	2.22	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1.70	..	..	..	4.40	..	10.00	..	10.00	..
20,000 = £20 2,000 fms. 820	6.10	..	..	..	1.30	..	..	..	4.00	..	2.15	..	4.00	..	4.40	..	13.00	..	10.00	..
30,000 = £30 3,000 fms. 800	8.44	..	..	..	6.52	..	..	..	7.60	..	2.90	..	7.60	..	5.08	..	16.60	..	10.00	..
50,000 = £50 5,000 fms. 8200	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
100,000 = £100 10,000 fms. 8400	15.50	..	2.80	..	14.78	..	1.53	..	14.78	..	4.85	..	14.78	..	5.87	..	22.28	..	10.00	..
250,000 = £250 25,000 fms. 81,000	25.20	5.40	6.72	..	25.20	..	5.11	..	25.20	..	7.60	..	25.20	..	8.05	..	31.70	..	11.22	..
500,000 = £500 50,000 fms. 82,000	32.10	9.45	10.40	2.00	32.10	4.86	8.14	..	32.10	4.86	10.28	..	32.10	..	10.64	..	38.10	6.36	13.49	..
1,000,000 = £1,000 100,000 fms. 84,000	38.55	19.58	16.93	3.00	38.55	14.98	13.07	0.7	38.55	14.98	15.21	0.7	38.55	..	15.34	0.7	44.05	17.98	18.05	0.7
5,000,000 = £5,000 500,000 fms. 820,000	54.21	34.56	42.68	9.00	54.21	33.65	34.38	8.28	54.21	33.65	36.42	8.28	54.21	..	26.21	8.28	58.21	34.85	38.60	8.28
10,000,000 = £10,000 1,000,000 fms. 840,000	57.11	43.28	55.46	14.80	57.11	42.83	45.09	14.45	57.11	42.82	47.11	14.49	57.11	..	46.58	14.49	61.11	43.42	49.19	14.49

assertions, and the data and conclusions which I present must be taken for what they are worth.

On March 30, last, M. de Lasteyrie, the French Minister of Finance, publicly asserted that, despite prosperous business conditions aggregating enormous profits, German industry and the individual taxpayer are but lightly affected in comparison with the burdens of French taxation. The accompanying tabulation based upon a gold standard and taken from German information believed to be reliable is presented in refutation.

According to the tax laws, on paper, German taxation is burdensome; there need be no question about this. An examination of the voluminous list of taxation laws now ostensibly in force must satisfy any doubting Thomas that the law intends the German people to bear the fullest burden of taxation.

The list begins with the individual income tax, applying to all Germans in residence, to foreigners living in Germany longer than six months and to all others receiving incomes from German property or industry, and the rate varies from 10 per cent. on all small incomes to 55 per cent. on 500,000 marks, 55 per cent. on 1,000,000 marks and 60 per cent. above this figure. Then there is the capital profit tax, the corporation income tax, 20 per cent. of the income plus 15 per cent. of the sum of the dividends; the property tax for individuals, the first 100,000 marks free from tax, 250,000 marks 1 per cent., increasing to 10,000,000 marks at 10 per cent.; the property tax for corporations, 11½ per cent.; the property increase tax for individuals and corporations dependent upon amounts varying from 1 per cent. to 10 per cent.; the probate tax concerning inheritance, legacies and donations, from 10 per cent. to 50 per cent.; the exchange tax, 2 per cent. to 15 per cent.; the capital turnover tax, 2 per cent. for each handler from raw material to final consumer, which brings the Government from 7 per cent. to 8 per cent. Besides the foregoing there is the bond tax, the money market tax, the insurance tax, the motor car tax, the beer tax, the wine and alcohol tax, the lottery tax, the matches and tobacco tax, and so on.

In fact, if there is anything untaxed in

Germany I would be glad to learn of it. I know I am taxed at every turn in the road, for everything bought or consumed. To the regular charge for a room in a hotel (the prices of which have advanced 100 per cent. in the last six months) I pay, in addition, a 30 per cent. "steuer" (tax). In Bavaria this tax was 60 per cent.

By way of digression, Bavaria seems to be operating independently of the German Reich and collects taxes right and left for everything and from everybody, about as it likes and apparently without uniformity. This applies especially to "Ausländer" (foreigners). I have paid as many as 500 marks for the privilege of visiting a Bavarian town for a week, exclusive of the 60 per cent. room tax, and I have known others who have paid higher rates. In Munich stores the "Auslander" is frankly told that for him their prices are advanced from 100 per cent. to 200 per cent., and the theatres, operas and art galleries charge five times the price asked from the German.

German custom duties are collected in gold marks, and these rates have recently been raised on all luxuries. The beer tax has been quadrupled. The tax on wines is 20 per cent. on the price of the bottle. In short, the State income from all alcohols has increased 500 per cent. Another important tax is a 40 per cent. ad valorem on coal, and this has a far-reaching effect by proportionately increasing the cost on all goods dependent upon coal for manufacture.

#### ARE THE TAXES EVADED?

On paper and in accordance to law, it would seem that the German people are not only adequately taxed but are enduring all the taxation that they can stand, but on top of this the Allied Reparation Commission recently demanded of the German Government that an additional 60,000,000,000 paper marks be levied in taxation. This would seem, in accordance with German contention, an impossible task. Severe as are the tax laws, the Chancellor announced a short time ago that because of the heavy reparation demands the revenue from taxation would fall some 90,000,000,000 marks short of the estimate for the current year, which deficit he hoped could be covered by a loan.

Now comes an important question: Is the tax collected? Is the revenue accruing to the Government therefrom what it should be? Or, as so often charged, is evasion so extensive as seriously to nullify the law and thus defraud Germany's creditors?

Reference to the tax law shows that there are numerous exemptions and some qualifications; so it is safe to say that both the individual and the corporation avail themselves of these opportunities. The possibilities of such evasions are enhanced by the marked and radical change, apparent to all, that has developed in the German character as a whole as the result of war and post-war demoralization. Before the collapse of the German Empire the citizen was most honest in payment of taxes and all personal obligations. Defrauding was rare, and few took opportunity to hide capital outside the country. But after the war many far-sighted Germans, especially "Schieber" (war profiteers), invested in foreign securities in countries in whose currency there had been little or no depreciation in order to save depreciation of their interests at home. This desertion of capital was especially noted after the passage on Dec. 31, 1919, of a special levy for property on hand, amounting to 65 per cent.

The property which a German citizen owns abroad is, under German law, subject to taxation, but as foreign banks are not obliged to divulge the secrets of their clients there is no way for the Reich to know what amounts or interests are thus held; so that in these cases the Government is practically at the mercy of the honesty and inclination of the individual. There are new laws pending that provide heavy penalties for hiding capital beyond the limits of the country, and the Government has endeavored to negotiate reciprocity agreements for mutual self-protection with other powers; but thus far Czechoslovakia is the only country that has responded.

In all instances where it is at all practicable, the tax levy is made at the source of income, as in the case of the corporation tax, involving deduction from wages and salaries by the employer. In Germany the secrecy of banking accounts is not recognized, and the excise authorities

examine books and accounts, so that coupons can be paid only after the bank has deducted for the Government the turnover tax.

It is impossible to venture a rational opinion as to just what the percentage of tax evasion amounts to. It is safe to say that it is not inconsiderable. Selfish human nature cannot be entirely altered. It is safe, also, to say that as the German people become more and more settled and accustomed to taxation, and as tax machinery improves, each recurring year will show less and less evasion.

There is good ground for belief that many attempt and succeed in evading the full measure of taxation. I met one of this sort in a railroad compartment not long ago—a manufacturer. He explained numerous and most ingenious schemes for evasion. He himself had tied up a large amount of paper marks in the purchase of automobiles and auto trucks, thereby escaping on surplus cash or its investment. All these autos were ostensibly intended for his business, but the number was far beyond his business requirements. Only the minimum number were placed in commission; the excess were allowed to remain idle, free from wear and tear or from much depreciation. The law provides 20 per cent. for yearly depreciation, fixing the life of an auto at five years. On this manufacturer's income return depreciation and repairs are deducted on all his autos, used or unused. Thus, at the end of five years, with good and practically new autos, officially dead, he figures he is just that much ahead.

It must be borne in mind that high taxation is a new experience to the German and unquestionably distasteful. The successful enforcement of law, including taxation, in the case of all democracies rests largely upon inherent honesty and popular will. There are undoubtedly evasion and "doctoring" of income and other tax returns right in our own United States, just as we all know there are evasion and violation of prohibition.

There is, however, every reason to believe that the present German Government is sincere and honest and doing all in its power to correct abuses and reduce tax evasion to the minimum. It must be remembered that the tax-enforcement machinery is of new creation, and not run-

ning as smoothly or as effectively as it will later. This new tax service is composed of many thousands of new personnel, who must be given time and training in order to arrive at maximum efficiency.

#### REPARATIONS AND STABILITY

Considering the many difficulties, those who have had the best opportunities to judge believe that the present Wirth Government is doing all in its power to meet the reparation problem. The Republic is committed to the "fulfillment policy," and unless pressed beyond all point of endurance will be stable and eventually make satisfactory terms with its creditors. But in order to insure this stability it must be treated with consideration and given substantial help. The best interests of its creditors can be served only through sane methods, similar to a course usually adopted in business circles toward an established firm in financial difficulties, the salvation of which is essential to business stability and equilibrium.

Unless pressed too hard because of a temporary lapse in the fulfillment of demands, so far as can be foreseen, the German reparation demands will eventually in

some manner be satisfied and eventually paid. If, on the other hand, unreasonable coercive methods are adopted, there is danger that something will "blow up." In such an event the monarchists may be relied upon to do their utmost to get an inning, but, come what may, the best informed believe that Germany has had her fill of a monarchical government. There are some centres, such as Potsdam, still seething with royalist sympathizers; likewise spots in Bavaria and elsewhere, but the majority are on the other side, and it is evident that the royalists are daily losing ground. They cannot put up a solid front. A small coterie are faithful adherents to the deposed Kaiser. Another small, though probably larger, clique favor the ex-Crown Prince. A much larger following than either of the foregoing favor seeing the eldest son of the ex-Crown Prince (Prince Wilhelm), a fine looking youngster of 16, on the throne, while the vast majority of royalists are opposed to a Hohenzollern in any form, and the Bavarian royal house has a large following. It is a case of a small house divided against itself, and even if united, considering the present temper of the German

### LOSS OF TERRITORY AND POPULATION

#### GERMANY HAS CEDED

Province.	Square Kilometers.	Number of Inhabitants (Census of Jan. 12, 1910).	Country to Which Ceded.
East Prussia.....	501.4	24,187	Poland
East Prussia.....	2,656.7	141,238	Memel District
West Prussia.....	15,853.2	964,034	Poland
West Prussia.....	1,914.2	330,630	Danzig
Pomerania.....	9.6	224	Poland
Posen.....	26,041.8	1,946,461	Poland
Lower Silesia.....	511.6	26,248	Poland
Upper Silesia.....	3,214.3	891,669	Poland
Upper Silesia.....	286.2	45,396	Czechoslovakia
Schleswig-Holstein.....	3,992.7	166,348	Denmark
Rhenish Provinces (Eupen and Malmedy).....	1,035.8	60,000	Belgium
Alsace-Lorraine.....	14,521.8	1,874,014	France
Saar District.....	1,926.3	651,000	France



people, the royalists need not be seriously considered.

#### GERMANY'S LOSS IN TERRITORY

The charge that Germany has paid nothing, and does not intend to pay anything, cannot be substantiated. That already she has paid dearly for her mad entrance into war, a glance at the loss of territory and population shown in the accompanying table will demonstrate convincingly.

The above table shows an approximate loss of 13 per cent. of acreage and 10 per cent. of population. To this must be added valuable properties, such as railroads, not shown therein. Add to this the surrender of Germany's fleet, the loss in shipping, the wholesale destruction of armament, the reparation payments already made in gold marks and in kind, and it can then be estimated that the war has already cost Germany something like 100,000,000,000 gold marks, and still there is more, much more, to be paid.

These lines are written at the end of the tense suspense that for weeks has held all Germany in its grasp. May 31 has just passed; the sanctions have not been

applied, and there is at least the respite of the Allied Reparation Commission's notification to Germany that her promise to pay and security offered are for the moment satisfactory. The effect of the Reparation Commission's reply has had a happy effect on the German people. It can be felt in the atmosphere. Added to this is the present International Bankers' Conference in Paris, to the results of which Germany looks forward with hope and optimism. [Since this was written the Bankers' Conference adjourned after deciding that an international loan to Germany was impossible under present circumstances.—Ed.]

This article began with the statement that Friday, Aug. 1, 1914, was a sad day for Germany. The punishments for her precipitate folly have only begun; for, whether there be moratorium or no moratorium, loan or no loan, modification or no modification in terms of the Peace Treaty, Germany is destined for years to be the financial slave of the world, and in more ways than one must pay and pay and pay, for, verily, "the sins of the fathers shall be visited upon the children even unto the third and fourth generation."

#### BULGARIA'S CONSCRIPT LABOR LAW

THE anniversary of Bulgaria's Conscript Labor law was celebrated July 13. Under this remarkable experiment, to make up for lack of industrial capital reserves with an intensive use of the people's labor, the State has employed 30,000 conscript laborers during the year. For a certain period each year all men from 20 to 50 years old are liable to take part in public work, and women from 16 to 50 years of age. On reaching the age for work conscription they are enrolled on local lists, the local authorities being empowered to call out a proportion not exceeding 40 per cent. each year. Financial and other circumstances restricted the first year's conscription to 30,000 workers, but so far as tested the system has operated successfully. The budget, under the head of housing and clothing the workers and paying them standard wages for the class of work done, shows a profit of over 5,000,000 Bulgarian leva.

The plan also proves of great educational value. In the country the young people are allowed to remain in their own neighborhoods and serve in the study of scientific farming, gardening, fruit-growing and stock-breeding in extra hours. In the immediate future girls called out in the towns are to be employed in Government departments, postal and telegraph offices, hospitals, public kitchens and schools. The eight-hour day is the

maximum, Sundays and Wednesday and Saturday afternoons being free. A fortnight's leave is allowed for the honeymoon of girls who marry during their conscription period.

The Bulgarian Press Bureau on June 21 sent to *Le Temps*, Paris, an official denial of false reports alleging persecutions of General Wrangel's army and of other Russian refugees in Bulgaria. It declared that all the Russian refugees in Bulgaria enjoy the fullest liberty, and that the Government looks after them as well as after the Bulgarians. The invitation to leave Bulgarian territory addressed to some of the higher officers of Wrangel's army was dictated only by the fact that a public investigation of their activities had established the existence of an organization working for the profit of a foreign power, thus endangering the order and security of the country. Considering the national army of 6,000 men insufficient to keep order and tranquillity in the country, the Bulgarian Government could not permit such mixing in domestic politics by the chiefs of an armed force of over 20,000.

The demand to proceed with the disarmament of the Wrangel army in Bulgaria emanating from the Council of Ambassadors at Paris, was met, but the Government has been disinclined to expel the disarmed soldiers and thus expose them to the uncertainties of a return to Russia.

# THE HAGUE CONFERENCE

*Europe's attempts to effect a settlement with Russia again frustrated by the Soviet's refusal to pay foreign debts and return nationalized foreign property—All concessions on these points refused unless other nations first grant the Soviet Government large credits—Failure of the conference*

THE conference called at The Hague by the five main allied nations for the purpose of effecting a settlement, if possible, under which the Russian Government would recognize Russia's pre-war debts and consent to satisfactory arrangements regarding the restitution of nationalized foreign-owned property, opened in the Carnegie Peace Palace on June 15, 1922. Twenty-nine nations were represented. Mr. Lloyd George, who had fathered the conference, was not present. Several days were spent in preliminaries. The first joint meeting with the Russian delegation did not occur until June 26.

To understand the issues involved, some retrospect is necessary. The economic conference at Genoa broke up on May 17, resulting, so far as any settlement with Russia was concerned, in complete failure. The rock on which it was wrecked was Russia's refusal to restore foreign-owned property in toto, on the ground that such a restitution would violate her communistic principles and infringe her sovereignty. Belgium, whose nationals owned large industrial interests

in Russia before the war, refused all compromises. In this she was supported by France, who also declined to sign the

memorandum transmitted to the Russian delegation as a majority offer. The Russians replied in a lengthy memorandum on May 11, rejecting all the allied conditions. Russia, this note insisted, must have a large international loan before there could be any settlement. In view of the unyielding attitude of both France and Belgium, the failure of the Genoa conference, so far as Russia was concerned, was a foregone conclusion.

Before the Genoa conference adjourned, however, Lloyd George succeeded in persuading both the allied and Russian delegations to agree to a new conference

at The Hague, to complete the work of Genoa, if possible, by bringing Russia into the fold of European comity. The plan proposed by him of setting up two separate committees, one including all the allied and former neutral nations and the other purely Russian, the allied committee to hold preliminary meetings between June 15 and June 26, and from then on to hold

[Scottish Cartoon]



—Glasgow Bulletin

AFTER THE HAGUE, WHAT—AND WHITHER?

LLOYD GEORGE in A. D. 1940—"Well, we've exhausted all the European resorts, Raymond. I've a fancy to see Japan or the South Sea Islands. Have you any suggestions?"

POINCARÉ (peevishly)—"It's all one to me, David. But what about making Germany pay?"

joint meetings with the Russian delegation, was finally accepted after some demurring on the part of the Russians. So the stage was set for a last attempt to liquidate the dangerous situation arising from Russia's continued isolation.

Before the delegates assembled at The Hague a small storm arose over the question of the Russian memorandum to the Allies presented at Genoa on May 11. M. Poincaré, the French Premier, on June 2 sent a note to the British Foreign Office demanding that this memorandum be withdrawn, and that the non-Russian commission should elaborate a complete plan for Russian reconstruction before the Russian delegation arrived and present it as a virtual ultimatum. The British reply, published on June 11, rejected these demands on the ground that this declaration of Soviet principles had already been superseded by later statements. To this France replied on June 12 that M. Poincaré accepted the British assurance that the May 11 memorandum would go into the discard, and abandoned his demand that it be withdrawn. With regard to restitution, M. Poincaré saw no solution except full return of property, as Russia had no means to make compensation. France wished to impose no dictation, but reserved the right to say under what conditions she would do business with any country. The French note then cited the British statement that if there was no settlement with Russia at The Hague there would be a rush concession hunters, "that is to say, pillage, which foreign Governments will have no power to prevent," and added:

If the British Government means by that that legitimate owners can be dispossessed by others, such spoliation would arouse the unanimous condemnation of civilized nations, and make impossible the resumption of normal relations with Russia. To avoid such deplorable consequences, the nations that send experts to The Hague ought surely to agree on some directing ideas. If they do not, it is to be feared the coming meeting will not succeed any better than that at Genoa did.

This exchange of notes was followed up by the decision of the French Cabinet on June 13 that The Hague discussions should be removed from politics, and be of a purely technical character and only ad referendum; in plain words, that the experts to be sent should be stripped of any power to make decisions without refer-

ence to their respective Governments. It was made clear that France's only motive in sending this delegation was to avoid isolation. The personnel of the French delegation, or "mission d'étude" (mission of inquiry), as the French preferred to call it, was decided on and announced at this date. Those chosen were:

CHARLES BENOIST, French Minister at The Hague.

M. ALPHAND, Director of the Department of Property and Private Interests.

COUNT MASSIGLI, Secretary of the Ambassadors' Council.

M. CHASLES, Inspector of Finance.

FRANÇOIS PONCET, Director of the Office of Economic Study.

A. G. DE LA PRADELLE, Professor of Law.

The two experts chosen to represent Great Britain had already been announced. They were:

EDWARD HILTON YOUNG, Financial Secretary to the Treasury.

SIR PHILIP LLOYD-GRAEME, Director of Overseas Trade.

The chief Italian delegates, as announced in Rome on June 12, were:

BARON ROMANO AVEZZANO.

PROFESSOR FRANCESCO GIANNINI.

COUNT VANNUTELLI.

COUNT DI GIURA.

CAVALIER BUTI.

Belgium was represented by

M. CATTIER.

M. GALOPIN.

M. WITMEUR.

In addition to these representatives of the main allied nations, there were delegates from the following countries: Austria, Bulgaria, Denmark, Spain, Esthonia, Finland, Greece, Hungary, Japan, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Norway, Holland, Poland, Portugal, Rumania, Serbia, Sweden, Switzerland and Czechoslovakia. Iceland sent her declination, on the ground that she had no vital interests in Russia. Holland was represented by M. van Karnebeek, Minister of Foreign Affairs.

The personnel of the Russian delegation was as follows:

MAXIM LITVINOV.

M. KRESTINSKY, Minister to Berlin and Commissioner of Finance.

M. SOKOLNIKOV, Assistant Commissioner of Finance.

LEONID KRASSIN, Commissioner of Trade.

The United States was unofficially represented by Louis A. Sussdorff, Chargé d'Affaires of the American delegation at The Hague.

#### OPENING OF THE CONFERENCE

The conference, exclusive of the Russians, opened in the large court of the Peace Palace in the afternoon of June 15. Jonkheer van Karnebeek presided and welcomed the delegates on behalf of the Netherlands Government. Sir Philip Lloyd-Graeme responded, and on his motion, supported by all the delegations, van Karnebeek accepted the Provisional Presidency.

The second session, held on June 16, was marked by a fairly unanimous decision not to seek a common agreement on principles before meeting the Russians. The British attitude, strongly backed by the Dutch and the Belgians, was voiced by the British expert, Edward Hilton Young, and was substantially this: "This is a meeting of experts, not of statesmen. We are to deal with facts, and not with principles. We should merely prepare to discuss facts with the Russians."

The conferences then decided forthwith to appoint, in addition to the general non-Russian commission, three sub-commissions to deal respectively with Russian debts, private property and credits. The task of naming the members of these subcommissions was entrusted to M. van Karnebeek. Virtually all the twenty-nine nations had signified their intention to join the main commission. It was M. van Karnebeek's aim to satisfy, as far as possible, all the smaller powers, including the Baltic nations, in the formation of the sub-committees.

Before the conference assembled again, Premier Poincaré met Premier Lloyd George in London (June 19). Both German reparations and The Hague Conference were discussed. Regarding the latter, it was agreed between them that the experts should be free to discuss with the Russians all practical solutions of the three main problems and to make recommendations to their respective Governments, and that each Government would then be free to take what action it deemed best.

Arrangements for the committees had been completed by June 21. M. van Karnebeek announced the personnel of the main non-Russian commission, which was headed by Dr. Patyn (Netherlands) as President, and by M. Cattier (Belgium) as Vice President. The Chairmen of the sub-committees were as follows: Private Property, Sir Philip Lloyd-Graeme (Great Britain); Debts, M. Alphanand (France);

Credits, Baron Avezzano (Italy).

The Russians arrived on schedule time on June 25, headed by M. Litvinov, who, in a buoyant mood, received the correspondents and dwelt at some length on the policy which Russia would follow in the joint discussion. Credits, he declared, would be insisted upon. On this basis alone, as explained at Genoa, would Russia consent to forego her counter-claim of 50,000,000,000 gold rubles for war damages. The question of credits must first be settled; then, and then only, would the Russians be ready to take up the other issues involved.

#### FIRST JOINT MEETING

This attitude was persisted in by Litvinov at the first joint session, held on June 27. He refused to split up his dele-

[American Cartoon]



—Dallas News

A HARD CASE



gation into subcommittees, as the allied commission desired; thus the Russian delegation met as a whole with each allied subcommittee in alternation.

The first meeting was with the Subcommittee on Credits. Litvinov began with an energetic demand that Russia be granted credits. Baron Avezano formally asked him to specify what money was needed, and how it would be expended. M. Litvinov insisted that he must first receive assurance that credits would be granted. What Russia wanted was credits for Russian purchases abroad, with each country guaranteeing payment to its shippers. Hilton Young, the British expert, pointed out that capital would go only where it had confidence, and any credits which the Russian Government might get would depend on the work of the other two commissions; in other words, on what the Soviet did about debts and private property. This view

was supported by France, whose representative declared the Russians must state (1) the purpose for which the credits were desired; (2) the sum desired, and (3) the guarantees offered. Baron Avezano then asked M. Litvinov to present proposals for Russia's reconstruction under the heads of transport, agriculture, industry and commerce, setting forth what was regarded as most urgent. Litvinov's further attempts to commit the conference to a promise of credits were again countered by Hilton Young, who expressed the issue of lack of confidence in plain and uncompromising words. Litvinov gave up the struggle temporarily, and asked time to prepare the information asked.

Litvinov's meeting with the Subcommittee on Debts on June 28 produced new

clashes. The Russian leader first insisted that before Russia recognized her debts she must be assured that a long moratorium would be granted. Sokolnikov, the Assistant Commissioner of Finance, had declared the day before that this moratorium must extend over a period ranging from twenty to fifty years. Litvinov professed amazement at the allied demand for

a detailed statement of the Russian budget, and argued that the Russian budget had no relation to Russian debts. He was told that no moratorium could be intelligently discussed until the exact state of Russian finances was known. Litvinov finally yielded also in this, and demanded time to obtain the figures from Moscow, and also to supply the information asked by M. Alphand (France) as to what Russia was prepared to do in respect to various debt items. The subcommittee then adjourned to wait for the desired information from Moscow.

Litvinov met the third subcommission (that on private property) on June 29. Sir Philip Lloyd-Graeme, the Chairman, asked the Russians to state what they would do in respect to the restitution of foreign-owned and now nationalized property. He quoted Leonid Krassin, the Bolshevik Foreign Trade Commissioner (who had not yet arrived at The Hague), as saying that 90 per cent. of all foreign-owned property could be restored. [This statement was later denied by Krassin.] He asked the Russians not to inject discussion of political principles, but to confine themselves to facts. Litvinov's reply aroused a small storm. Russia, he said, welcomed the prospect of any fair settlement that included extensive credits. He wished, however, to make it plain that the Soviets did

[Dutch Cartoon]



—De Amsterdammer, Amsterdam

#### A HOPELESS TASK

THE HAGUE BIRD—"How can I hatch such a thing?" [The Russian question]

not renounce their political principles, and that any concession they now made would be made for expediency only. Lloyd-Greame replied sharply that such declarations were not calculated to inspire confidence. He was backed strongly by the French, Belgian and Italian members, and Litvinov sought to palliate the effect of his statement, declaring that it had been taken more seriously than he intended. The sub-commission asked from Litvinov formal proposals as to what Russia would do, and asked that these proposals deal with two main categories of private property: (1) industrial and commercial enterprises, such as engineering work, textile factories, public utility work, mines, timber, banks, etc.; (2) immovable property, such as lands, houses, buildings, forests, trade and private debts.\*

#### RUSSIA'S REPLY ON CREDITS

On June 30 Litvinov met the Credits Commission again, and presented the formal statement on credits which it had requested. According to this statement, Russia wanted credits in foreign currencies and loans up to 3,224,000,000 gold rubles—a total of \$1,612,000,000—made up of the following items: transport, 1,050,000,000 gold rubles; agriculture, 924,000,000 gold rubles; industries, 750,000,000 gold rubles; miscellaneous commercial credits, 300,000,000 gold rubles, bank credits, 200,000,000 gold rubles. All these items, taken together, said Litvinov, represented Russia's minimum necessities. She did not ask for the whole sum at once, but proposed that it be spread over three years,

\*Declaring that the question of the return of private property to foreigners would be the greatest obstacle to agreement at The Hague, as it had been at Genoa, the Moscow *Izvestia* late in June printed tables showing the total of foreign capital invested in Russia up to January, 1917, viz., 2,242,974,000 gold rubles. Excluding investments in Poland and Latvia, the total for the present Russia was 2,007,305,500 gold rubles. Of this sum 78.5 per cent. was held by the Allies, including the United States; 16.1 per cent. by Germany and Austria, and 5.4 per cent. by neutrals. The value of French property was 684,089,700 gold rubles; of German property, 317,475,500 gold rubles; of Belgian property, 311,812,400 gold rubles; of United States property, 117,750,000 gold rubles. It is thus made plain that the French and Belgian property combined make up nearly half the total amount. More than half the total is invested in mining and metal industries. The *Izvestia* declared that if restitution were made, it would mean that the Russian people would have to pay out four and a half quintillions of rubles in paper money.

[English Cartoon]



John Bull, London

#### THE REALITY BEHIND THE HAGUE CONFERENCE

THE MONEY CHANGERS—"For the third and last time, gentlemen, this magnificent Buzzofsky Morgenstein libebelt—is there any bid for it?"

[American Cartoon]



—Dallas News

HE WON'T BE HAPPY TILL HE GETS IN

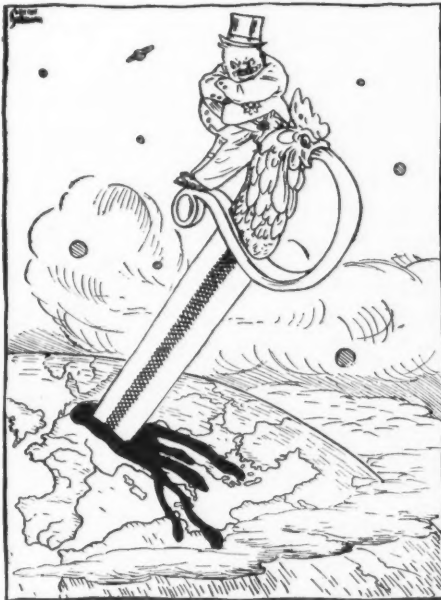
[Italian Cartoon]



—Il 420, Florence

THE GREATEST RESULT OF GENOA.  
ITALIAN PUBLIC—"I have paid all the expenses of the show, and in return I have had the satisfaction of hearing Tchitcherine cry, 'Long Live Italy'!"

[German Cartoon]



—Kladderadatsch, Berlin

A GERMAN GIBE AT FRANCE  
How can one cure the wounds of Europe if one leaves the sword sticking in? [Poincaré standing on the hilt]

although more than one-third would be needed in the first year. The sum asked for was to be granted as a direct credit to the Moscow Government, and had nothing to do with the other credits requested, which were to facilitate private trade with Russia under Government guarantee. One of the items given was for \$100,000,000 cash to enable Russia to establish at least a partial gold standard for an issue of new currency. The total sum demanded—\$1,612,000,000—may be compared with the \$1,000,000,000 demanded by the Russians at Genoa, a demand which broke up that conference.

Both the French and Belgian delegates characterized this new demand as fantastic. Litvinov and Sokolnikov retorted that if the Russians did not get the money they needed, there would be small probability that the allied nations would collect on what they claimed was due to them. This remark aroused resentment, and Hilton Young then adjourned the session, declaring that future discussions must be confined to facts.

## ENORMOUS BUDGET ESTIMATES

Further sessions were suspended until July 4. On that date the Russians again met with the Subcommittee on Debts, and presented the information on the Russian budget which had been requested. The estimates ran into trillions of rubles, the basis of one gold ruble being figured at 1,200,000 paper rubles. The total expenses of the budget from January to September, 1922, reach 1,132,000,000 gold rubles. The revenues which the Soviets expect to receive reach a total of 990,000,000 gold rubles, leaving a deficit of 142,000,000 gold rubles. Large estimates are made on a new income tax to be put into effect only in the Fall of the present year, and to be collected largely in potatoes and wheat. The following facts are given: In 1921 the Russians expended 16,700,000,000,000 paper rubles, and issued 16,375,000,000,000 new currency; in other words, 98 per cent. of the cost of running the Government was met by the printing press. For the first four months in this year, the expenses reached 130,000,000,000,000 paper rubles, and 104,000,000,000,000 of new paper. Some



250,000,000,000,000 new paper rubles have been issued in 1922. In the month of June, alone, the Soviets issued 85,000,000,000,000 rubles — 20,000,000,000,000 more than in May, and seven times as many as in January. The figures showed that there now exists a circulation of 270,000,000,000,000 paper rubles, eighteen times as many as in January. The Russians, in their covering letter, estimated only a 20 per cent. deficit to be met by new paper issue, but the actual figures given showed that the expenditures in June were 130,000,000,000,000 rubles, and the money issue 85,000,000,000,000, or 53 per cent. These budget figures, which were presented by Sokolnikov, were received with amazement.

Two meetings of the Russians with the Subcommittee on Private Property were held on July 4, at both of which an energetic attempt by Litvinov and his colleagues to obtain permission to circulate a searching questionnaire among all foreign claimants was combated with equal energy by the other delegates as a propaganda scheme, based also on a desire to differentiate between those who represented the proletariat and the capitalistic classes. The total result of the joint sessions up to this date was that the allied delegates expressed the opinion that nothing could be done with Litvinov, and that no tangible results could be attained until the arrival of Leonid Krassin.

#### "NO LOANS—NO CONCESSIONS"

Krassin arrived on July 6, but the hopes based on him were doomed to disappointment. The Subcommittees on Debts and Private Property met with the Russians on July 7. At the morning session the duel between the opposing factions was typified in the following question and demand:

The Powers' Delegates—Are you going to promise to pay your debts?

The Russian Delegates—Are you going to lend us money?

M. Alphand, representing France, informed the Russians that the allied experts, after studying the Russian budget figures, had found that instead of 80 per cent. being met by tax revenue, as the Russians had declared, in reality only 4½

per cent. was being so covered, and that all the remainder was covered by the issue of paper money. Sokolnikov, who as Finance Minister was sponsor for the estimates, replied that the correctness of the figures could not be determined until the end of the year.

At the afternoon meeting of the Subcommittee on Private Property the intention of the Chairman, Lloyd-Graeme, to commit the Russians to a definite statement regarding the return of foreign-owned property was obvious from the beginning of the session. He first asked Litvinov to explain what concessions the Russians had to offer under the head of engineering, and on what terms. It was impossible, replied Litvinov, to give general terms, because conditions were different in various industries. The Soviet, he said, preferred to form a mixed company by which foreign capitalists would go into partnership with the Soviet, dividing profits with Moscow, though other forms of concessions might be possible. He made it plain that concessionaires would be free to hire whatever labor they wished, including non-union labor, but that they would be held to employ a fixed percentage of Russians. The Moscow Government would share losses as well as profits. Some 600 concessions, divided into twenty branches, were mentioned, including about thirty oil concessions, some for production and others for refining. Other concessions included gold, iron, asbestos, timber and sugar; the last mentioned item was the only agricultural grant in the list. Neither railroad nor steamship concessions were included.

Among the concessions named M. Cattier of Belgium recognized several properties belonging to Belgian nationals, and he called on Litvinov to state whether any of the concessions listed had been formerly owned by foreign investors. Litvinov insisted that he did not know, and persisted in this disclaimer after half an hour of questioning. M. Cattier then strove to commit Litvinov to a statement that the concessions would apply only to non-nationalized property, and that foreign-owned property would be returned to the former owners. The Russian leader replied that such foreign owners would be given preference in the matter of conces-



sions. He declared himself eventually unable to assure the Chairman that the owner of a factory built wholly by foreign capital would have any better treatment than any other foreign capitalist.

Litvinov then took the aggressive and demanded to know what the allied powers would do in respect to credits. Lloyd-Graeme repeated his previous statements that no credits, public or private, could be obtained until Russia yielded on the return of nationalized foreign-owned property or promised to make satisfactory compensation.

#### RUSSIA'S OFFERS

Sessions of the Private Property and Credits Subcommittees, the latter exclusive of the Russians, on July 10 brought the Russians and the allied group no nearer a settlement. In the Credits Subcommittee the Russians presented a long list of questions asking precise information as to which of the allied and neutral nations was prepared to give them credit (if a settlement could be reached), to what amounts and on what time. The powers, on their part, presented questions as to what the Russians planned to do with the 3,000,000,000 gold rubles which they had asked for. A long discussion brought no practical results, though Krassin's evident familiarity with the Russian economic situation made a better impression than the previous expositions of Litvinov. Krassin weakened the Russian case, however, by repeating the assertion that without large credits direct to the Moscow Government no agreement could be reached. Baron Avezzano asked how the credits would be used. Krassin said they would be used in restoring 15,000 versts of railroad trunk lines, thus bringing the sys-

tem up to within 50 per cent. of pre-war capacity (no concessions for operating the existing lines would be granted, he explained incidentally, but foreign capital would be allowed to build new lines); in restoring and improving river transportation (concessions for maritime and river transport would be granted); and in developing an extensive agricultural scheme, parallel with farming concessions amounting to 4,000,000 hectares (9,880,000 acres).

On the subject of trade the Russians said that free trade would not be allowed, and that the Russian Government would maintain its State monopoly. The mixed companies proposed would be assisted in their foreign trade by Moscow, profits up to 30 or 40 per cent. to be divided evenly, profits up to 100 per cent. and up to 300 per cent. to yield the Government a proportionately larger

profit. The Subcommittee on Private Property met in the afternoon to discuss the situation. The consensus of opinion was that the conference had failed.

#### THE FINAL DEADLOCK

Adjournment was in sight July 12. At the morning's session of the Subcommittee on Private Property Sir Philip Lloyd-Graeme pointed out to the Russians that their list of concessions contained only 5 per cent. of foreign-owned properties, and demanded to know what Russia would do with these properties as a whole. These questions, he declared, must now be answered, once for all, and in plain language. Litvinov was defiant. The concessions listed, he said, represented all Russia would do, and it would not do that unless it received the credits it demanded. Baron Cattier for the allied group said

[German-Swiss Cartoon]



—Nebelspalter, Zurich

#### LIBERTY'S FOLK-SONG

"I know not what it meaneth, this sadness  
that I feel."

the Russians had made it plain that neither restitution nor compensation would be granted, and he did not see any progress possible.

In the afternoon the Debts Commission met. M. Alphand for France called on the Russians to state in plain language whether or not they would recognize the outstanding foreign debts. Sokolnikov declared this was impossible, hedging as usual with the Soviet demand for credits. A similar refusal was made to the proposal of a mixed tribunal to fix the terms of a moratorium and a date for beginning payment. Litvinov then proposed that a lump sum be fixed. Mr. Young (England) declared this was useless, as the bondholders had precise claims, and no reduction was possible. When Litvinov insisted, M. Alphand adjourned the meeting. Litvinov admitted after the session that the end of the discussions was in sight, and declared that Russia would maintain her attitude on debts and private property to the end.

What was regarded as the final stage of the conference was reached at the session of the Credits Commission on July 14, when the powers' delegates informed the Soviet delegates that, unless they had new proposals to make, no recommendation that

credits be extended to the Soviet Government could be made. Litvinov answered that the Russian proposals already made and rejected represented the Soviets' last word. Baron Avezzano of Italy, the Chairman, then informed the Russian delegation that the Private Property and Debts Commissions had decided the day before that it was impossible to reach any agreement, and that it was useless to continue the discussions. The Russians replied that, in view of the powers' attitude, they agreed that the conference might as well end. The meeting was a long one, and was devoted to a defense by both sides of the respective positions taken regarding debts, the restitution of private property, and the question of credits. Mr. Hilton Young of the British delegation again pointed out that no capital could flow into Russia until international confidence was restored. He repudiated the reiterated Russian charge that the allied delegates were responsible for the rupture, and declared that the powers had made all possible concessions, and were still ready to hear new proposals, if the Russians had any to offer. Though Litvinov declared that no new proposals would be made, the Russians had begun last-minute overtures at the time these pages went to press.

[English Cartoon]



—Cardiff Evening Express

#### BROKE AND BANKRUPT

GERMANY—"I'm broke! I can't pay you."

FRANCE—"I shall go bankrupt if you don't."

JOHN BULL (to Uncle Sam)—"And I'm paying too much interest, uncle! You've had a good picking out of us, and I think it's about time you took other interest in things!"

# THE IRISH FREE STATE CRUSHES A REVOLT

*Sweeping victory of treaty supporters at the polls is followed by civil war—Rebels in Dublin besieged in Free Courts Building, causing its destruction—Free State forces steadily gaining—Text of the new Constitution*

[PERIOD ENDED JULY 15, 1922]

SEVERAL events of major importance occurred in Ireland in June and July.

The series of conferences on the new Irish Constitution, held in London, were brought to a satisfactory conclusion on June 13. Previous to the announcement of this result Arthur Griffith, Mr. O'Higgins and Mr. Kennedy, for the Free State, had a significant meeting at the Colonial Office, in the presence of Mr. Winston Churchill, with Lord Middleton, Lord Donoughmore, Andrew Jamieson and the Rev. Dr. Bernard, Provost of Trinity College, as representatives of the Southern Unionists. At this meeting various difficulties which had previously seemed formidable were smoothed over. In the House of Commons, in replying to questions regarding the oath of allegiance and its application to the Provisional Government and the Provisional Parliament summoned to meet on July 1, Secretary Churchill stated that while members of the Provisional Government are under obligation to take the oath as defined in the treaty, the Provisional Parliament may dispense with it, and the South Parliament need not observe it until after the Free State Constitution—with its new version of that oath—has been ratified.

Voting for members of the Provisional Parliament took place on June 16. Public order was maintained throughout the twenty-six counties, barring the kidnapping of the agents of independent candidates in Sligo, and a sensational raid on the poll at the National University by Rory O'Connor, the rebel leader of the Four Courts. The returns showed a sweeping victory for the treaty supporters, disclosed unexpected strength in the Labor Party, and returned to private life many of De

Valera's supporters. The whole of the Dail Cabinet was elected, with Michael Collins heading the County Cork poll with nearly three times the quota required. Among De Valera's leaders General Liam Mellows went down to defeat in Galway, and Erskine Childers met a similar fate in Wicklow. Count O'Byrne, Sean Nolan (Republican Army Commander) and John MacSwiney also lost their seats. Cork City provided a sensation in sending Robert Day, Labor candidate and organizer of the Transport Union, to the head of the poll and placing Lord Mayor O'Callaghan at the bottom. Of the six women members of the last Dail, the Countess Markievicz, Dr. Ada English and Mrs. Clarke were beaten in South Dublin City, the National University and mid-Dublin respectively. The final returns gave: Treatyites, 58; Antis, 36; Labor, 17; Farmers, 7; Trade and Commercial Independents, 6; Trinity College, 4. Total, 128 members. The Treatyites have an even stronger majority than the figures show, for although Labor members may on certain questions vote with the Antis, the minor factions all favor the treaty as necessary to Ireland's political salvation. The meeting of the Parliament was set for July 1, but was passed over, as on that date the country was in the throes of a republican revolt.

The civilized world was shocked on June 22 by the assassination in London of Field Marshal Sir Henry Wilson, former Chief of the Imperial General Staff. Field Marshal Wilson was a native of Northern Ireland, and was latterly engaged in organizing the Ulster defenses. In politics he was credited with being an Ulsterite extremist, and as such represented North

Down in Parliament. The news of the murder was received in Ireland with considerable uneasiness as likely to complicate the already difficult situation between the Free State and Northern Ireland. Arthur Griffith, President of the Dail Eireann, said:

Whether the assassination of Field Marshal Wilson was an act of private vengeance or had a pseudo-political aspect, I do not know. But it is a fundamental principle of civilized government that the assassination of a political opponent cannot be justified or condoned. Field Marshal Wilson's political views were opposed to those of the vast majority of his countrymen; nevertheless, I know that the majority is unanimous in condemning and deploring this anarchic deed.

On the same day Premier Craig declared in the Ulster Parliament:

This event places beyond argument the existence of a wide conspiracy against those who are fighting the battle of Ulster. I do hope there will be no further doubt in the mind of any man about what Ulster is up against. The battle is not for us alone, but for the empire, and if anything is needed to steel the nerve and heart of Ulster it is that fact.

Mr. De Valera issued a statement in which, after disavowing any knowledge of the assassins, he denounced the Irish Settlement as the cause of the tragedy, coupled with the situation in Belfast, which he characterized as "a hell for the Nationalist minority."

#### WARFARE IN DUBLIN

On June 28 hostilities commenced in Dublin between the Free State regular and the Four Courts rebel forces, the latter being commanded by Rory O'Connor. The causes which led up to this open breach were detailed by the Provisional Government in a pronouncement as follows:

The events immediately leading up to the action now being taken by the Government to protect and secure the people of Ireland against further molestation and interference with their liberties are these:

On Saturday last two Dublin firms received demands in the name of a leader of the irregular forces in illegal occupation of the Law Courts to pay certain sums of money by the following Tuesday. The demands were put forward under the pretext of a Belfast boycott, which has no authorized existence. The Government, on receiving information of the attempted extortion, arranged to have any person attempting it arrested if and when they proceeded to enforce their demand. Forty-eight hours later information was received by the Government that a raid was being carried

out by similar persons on the motor garage of Messrs. Ferguson, Bagot Street. Orders were immediately issued to troops to protect the firm. This order was carried out and the leader of the raiders was arrested and lodged in jail.

This warning to the lawless and irresponsible that the Government, having received an emphatic mandate from the Irish people, would no longer tolerate any interference with their liberty and property, was not only unheeded but insolently defied. Some hours later the same evening Lieut. Gen. O'Connell, Assistant Chief of Staff, while on his way through the streets alone and unarmed, was seized by an armed party of men and brought a prisoner to the Law Courts.

Against this direct challenge to its authority the Government ordered the army to take action. This morning troops surrounded the Law Courts and demanded evacuation of the building and surrender of the munitions and property held therein. A time limit was given, but the demand was ignored. At the same time Fowler Hall, which has been used as a centre of direction for the seizure of private property, was invested.

Statements that British troops are co-operating with the I. R. A. are false and malicious. None but Irish forces, with the co-operation of citizens, who are loyally and enthusiastically supporting the Government, are engaged in putting down the disorderly element who attempt to tyrannize over the people and defy their will.

The fighting opened at dawn with an attack of the Free State regulars on the Four Courts and continued throughout the day. The whole district was enclosed by a cordon of troops, and an incessant fire of field artillery, machine guns and trench mortars was kept up against the buildings occupied by the rebels. Mean-time rebel parties became active in other parts of the city, and a stiff fight was put up at Fowler Hall before it fell to the regulars. At midnight, after the Four Courts had been bombarded for eight and a half hours and a breach made in the walls, the regulars moved to the assault. They swept in through the ragged gap at a dash and quickly cleared their way through the rooms and corridors beyond. In this manner two main parts of the building were captured, together with thirty-three prisoners, including Commandant Thomas. Following this rebel reverse Rory O'Connor, Liam Mellows and about 150 of their adherents retired to a position in the rear of the building, where they kept up a fight for several hours. Toward noon a series of terrific explosions, which shook the City of Dublin, set the Four Courts buildings on fire. The position of the rebels then becoming untenable, at 4



P. M. their leaders unconditionally surrendered. At the same time thirty dead and wounded were taken from the building. Meanwhile the pest of sniping had broken out in several spots. During these operations Dublin was practically severed from communication with the outside world, the rebels having cut the cable between Dublin and England. For the forty hours of the battle of the Four Courts the city wore a besieged aspect, with means of outward transport stopped and all places of public entertainment closed.

The sniping area increased on July 1, so that no part of the city was considered safe; but the rebels were chiefly engaged in fortifying the buildings they had seized in Sackville Street. Eamon de Valera was said to have taken command of the body of irregulars which had seized the Gresham, Hammam and Granville hotels and the tramways office. Archbishop Byrne and Lord Mayor O'Neill exerted every effort to induce the irregulars to evacuate their positions, so that a densely populated neighborhood might be spared the dangers of a bombardment; but the battle was resumed at 5 P. M. on July 2, with the Free State troops gradually narrowing the circle of artillery and machine-gun fire with which they had enclosed the O'Connell Street, Marlborough Street and Gardner Street area. By the morning of the 3d several positions had been captured by the Free State forces and 400 prisoners taken. As during the day fighting was confined to the Sackville Street rebel defenses, citizens were enabled to move about again in other parts in safety, though some of the larger shops still remained closed. At nightfall the attack was being pressed with great vigor, "the forts" of the O'Connell Street zone being shelled with 18-pounders. The blackness of the early morning was rent with vivid flashes of light, while bomb explosions were heard above the barrage of rifles and machine guns. With every hour thereafter the response of the rebels slackened, but they stubbornly held out until a last group of only six, headed by Charles Burgess, were compelled to surrender the Granville Hotel at 8 P. M. on July 5. As Burgess would not give himself up, he was fired on and fatally wounded. Among other prisoners taken were Art O'Brien, R. C. Barton, Sean

O'Kelly and R. J. Little. Mr. De Valera was not found. Thus ended a conflict likened, in destructive forces loosed, to Easter week, 1916, but this time it was Irish troops that had the task of clearing out Irish irregulars. The total of known casualties was 56 dead and 260 wounded. The material damage was estimated at \$15,000,000, and the destruction of historic buildings was regarded as irreparable.

The Provisional Government on July 6 issued a call to arms in the form of a proclamation. The appeal declared that "the valor and patriotism of our National Army has broken the conspiracy to override the will of the nation and subject the people to a despotism based on brigandage and ruthlessness," and went on to assert: "You have regained for the first time in centuries those powers of Government from which a nation may develop and cultivate in peace, order and prosperity its own national genius." On the same date Eamon de Valera issued a proclamation to the people of the United States in which he insisted that the Provisional Government had "assumed a military dictatorship, supported by the British big guns." Other passages indicated his intention of carrying on the fight.

Bands of irregulars, meanwhile, were active in the provinces; but in most cases they were routed by the Free State forces. Thus on June 30 at Letterkenny, in County Donegal, the irregulars surrendered after a sharp fight, and at Buncrana they gave in without a struggle. Following a battle lasting an hour and a half the Free State forces captured from the irregulars the large camp at Ballyshannon, formerly held by the British. On July 3 all the insurgent leaders in Mullingar, including Brig. Gen. Maguire, Captain Madden and Commandants Kilevy and Fitzsimons, were captured by Free State troops. But general railway traffic was badly interrupted, with the main line from Cork to Dublin, as well as the Dublin-Belfast line, cut in several places. On July 4 the Millmount Barrack at Drogheda, County Meath, was captured, and the official announcement was made that all important Midland centres were held for the Provisional Government. By the end of the first week in July the whole north, centre and west of the Free State was quiet, but the Republicans still held

vital strategic points in Cork and elsewhere in the south.

The funeral of Cathal Brugha (Charles Burgess), the uncompromising anti-treaty leader, who fell mortally wounded in the O'Connell Street fighting on July 5, was held in Dublin on July 10. Thousands of people lined the streets and joined in the funeral procession, which took three hours to pass from the church to the cemetery. The Republican members of the Dail Eireann and representatives of all the Republican organizations attended, and Republican troops fired a salute over the grave.

Conditions remained practically unchanged during the following week. The Free State Government realized that its task in clearing up the situation would be formidable, but was resolved to carry it through to the end. Michael Collins was made Commander in Chief of the military forces, and a manifesto was issued calling upon the army to continue its deeds of valor and devotion until the salvation of the nation was completed. Eamon de Valera still directed, supposedly near Lim-

erick, the guerilla operations of the rebels, but national troops were steadily gaining ground. Inch Fort, in Donegal—formerly an important British naval station—capitulated after heavy shelling on July 16. The irregulars still held a line extending through Waterford and Clonmel into Kerry, a distance of 70 or 80 miles, and were in complete control south of this line. It was expected, however, that the crushing of the whole insurgent movement would merely be a matter of time.

The destruction of property by the irregulars all over the country represented vast losses, and the cost of future reconstruction was viewed with solicitude.

While these events were agitating Southern Ireland, Ulster was disturbed by repeated attacks on Catholics in Belfast. What was characterized as the "ulcerous state of Belfast" was regarded in other parts of Ireland as "a pogrom of Catholics," with no protection afforded the minority by the Northern Government. In apparent confirmation of this view, thousands of Catholic refugees were streaming over the frontier.

## TEXT OF THE IRISH CONSTITUTION

The text of the Constitution of the Irish Free State was published by the Provisional Government June 16, 1922, on the eve of the polling for the Irish Provisional Parliament elections. This proposed basic law of Ireland, which had been indirectly provided for in the Anglo-Irish Peace Treaty, was drawn up by a committee of Free State leaders headed by Arthur Griffith. They came from Dublin to London early in June with a first draft of it, which they submitted, but the British negotiators found it unsatisfactory on four main points, viz.: The formula of the oath of allegiance to the King was not sufficiently explicit; the authority of the British Governor-General was not recognized; the appeal to the Privy Council was not adopted, an Irish Court of Appeals being preferred, and a claim was put forward to the Free State's right to manage its own foreign affairs. The British declared that this first draft was not in accord with the treaty, and the Government put to the Irish leaders six questions to ascertain whether the

Provisional Government would be able to bring forward a Constitution which the Imperial Parliament could ratify. Mr. Griffith, President of the Free State Government, returned with his colleagues to London on June 6, bearing with him a revised draft framed to eliminate the objections stated. This revised draft, however, made further difficulties, which were finally overcome after intensive discussions, and the Constitution was declared by the British officials to be in accord with the treaty. This was confirmed by Mr. Churchill in the House at the session of June 15. Before leaving London again Mr. Griffith commented on the final result as follows: "The Constitution is that of a free and democratic State, and under it Ireland, for the first time in centuries, secures the power and opportunity to control and develop her own resources and to lead her own national life."

The document consists of a preamble and five sections, dealing, respectively, with fundamental rights, legislative pro-

visions, the Executive, the judiciary and transitory provisions. Several of these last (Articles 72 to 76, also 79) were not at first published with the other articles, and were issued from Downing Street on June 18. The preamble declares that where the treaty and the Constitution shall clash the treaty shall prevail. Under fundamental rights it is laid down that all power comes from the people, that liberty of person and freedom of conscience, freedom of speech, education, and so forth, shall be inviolable. The Legislature is to consist of the King and the two houses. All citizens over 21, both men and women, are eligible to vote for the House; and for the Senate, those over 30. All members of both houses must take the oath of allegiance. The Chamber will have exclusive power over money bills. The Senate will have power of amendment, but not of rejection, the Royal veto obtaining, after Canadian usage. The new State will not take part in any war without the assent of the Imperial Parliament, save in the case of actual invasion. Twelve Ministers will form the Executive, which is modeled on the Swiss Federal Council plan. The South African precedent is explicitly followed for the appeal to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council.

All in all, the Irish leaders feel that this draft Constitution, Ireland's first essay in statecraft, holds many noteworthy and democratic features, and, above all, that it is distinctly oriented in accordance with Irish national aspirations. Whatever disputes and objections it may still give rise to, they say, the mere fact that such a Constitution has been preliminarily agreed upon is bound to exert a powerful influence on Irish imagination. They regard it as the charter of a Celtic civilization resting upon the imperial system as upon an indispensable buttress to Irish liberty.

The official text is as follows:

**PRELIMINARY**—These presents shall be construed with reference to the Articles of Agreement for a treaty between Great Britain and Ireland set forth in the schedule hereto annexed (hereinafter referred to as "the Scheduled Treaty"), which are hereby given the force of law, and if any provision of this Constitution or of any amendment thereof or of any law made thereunder is in any respect repugnant to any of the provisions of the Scheduled Treaty, it shall, to the extent only of such repugnancy, be absolutely void and inoperative and the Parliament

and the Executive Council of the Irish Free State shall respectively pass such further legislation and do all such other things as may be necessary to implement the Scheduled Treaty.

## SECTION I.—FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS

**ARTICLE 1**—The Irish Free State (Saorstát Eireann) is a co-equal member of the Community of Nations forming the British Commonwealth of Nations.

**ARTICLE 2**—All powers of government and all authority, legislative, executive and judicial, are derived from the people and the same shall be exercised in the Irish Free State (Saorstát Eireann) through the organizations established by or under, and in accord with, this Constitution.

**ARTICLE 3**—Every person domiciled in the Irish Free State (Saorstát Eireann) at the time of the coming into operation of this Constitution who was born in Ireland or either of whose parents was born in Ireland or who has been so domiciled in the area of the jurisdiction of the Irish Free State (Saorstát Eireann) for not less than seven years is a citizen of the Irish Free State (Saorstát Eireann) and shall within the limits of the Irish Free State (Saorstát Eireann) enjoy the privileges and be subject to the obligations of such citizenship, provided that any such person being a citizen of another State may elect not to accept the citizenship hereby conferred; and the conditions governing the future acquisition and termination of citizenship in the Irish Free State (Saorstát Eireann) shall be determined by law. Men and women have equal rights as citizens.

**ARTICLE 4**—The national language of the Irish Free State (Saorstát Eireann) is the Irish language, but the English language shall be equally recognized as an official language. Nothing in this article shall prevent special provisions being made by the Parliament (Oireachtas) for districts or areas in which only one language is in use.

**ARTICLE 5**—No title of honor in respect of any services rendered in or in relation to the Irish Free State (Saorstát Eireann) may be conferred on any citizen of the Irish Free State (Saorstát Eireann) except with the approval or upon the advice of the Executive Council of the State.

**ARTICLE 6**—The liberty of the person is inviolable and no person shall be deprived of his liberty except in accordance with law. Upon complaint made by or on behalf of any person that he is being unlawfully detained, the High Court (Ard Chúirt) and any and every Judge thereof shall forthwith inquire into the same and may make an order requiring the person in whose custody such person shall be detained to produce the body of the person so detained before such Court or Judge without delay and to certify in writing as to the cause of the detention and such Court or Judge shall thereupon order the release of such person unless satisfied that he is being detained in accordance with the law.

**ARTICLE 7**—The dwelling of each citizen is inviolable and shall not be forcibly entered except in accordance with law.



**ARTICLE 8**—Freedom of conscience and the free profession and practice of religion are inviolable rights of every citizen, and no law may be made either directly or indirectly to endow any religion, or prohibit or restrict the free exercise thereof or give any preference, or impose any disability on account of religious belief or religious status, or affect prejudicially the right of any child to attend a school receiving public money without attending the religious instruction at the school, or make any discrimination as respects State aid between schools under the management of different religious denominations, or divert from any religious denomination or any educational institution any of its property except for the purpose of roads, railways, lighting, water or drainage works, or other works of public utility, and on payment of compensation.

**ARTICLE 9**—The right of free expression of opinion as well as the right to assemble peaceably and without arms, and to form associations or unions is guaranteed for purposes not opposed to public morality. Laws regulating the manner in which the right of forming associations and the right of free assembly may be exercised shall contain no political, religious or class distinction.

**ARTICLE 10**—All citizens of the Irish Free State (Saorstát Éireann) have the right to free elementary education.

**ARTICLE 11**—The rights of the State in and to natural resources, the use of which is of national importance, shall not be alienated. Their exploitation by private individuals or associations shall be permitted only under State supervision and in accordance with conditions and regulations approved by legislation.

## SECTION II.—LEGISLATIVE PROVISIONS

### A—The Legislature

**ARTICLE 12**—A Legislature is hereby created to be known as the Parliament of the Irish Free State (Oireachtas). It shall consist of the King and two houses—the Chamber of Deputies (Dáil Éireann) and the Senate (Seanad Éireann). The power of making laws for the peace, order and good government of the Irish Free State (Saorstát Éireann) is vested in the Parliament (Oireachtas).

**ARTICLE 13**—The Parliament (Oireachtas) shall sit in or near the City of Dublin or in such other place as from time to time it may determine.

**ARTICLE 14**—All citizens of the Irish Free State (Saorstát Éireann), without distinction of sex, who have reached the age of twenty-one years and who comply with the provisions of the prevailing electoral laws shall have the right to vote for members of the Chamber of Deputies (Dáil Éireann), and to take part in the Referendum or Initiative. All citizens of the Irish Free State (Saorstát Éireann), without distinction of sex, who have reached the age of 30 years and who comply with the provisions of the prevailing electoral laws shall have the right to vote for members of the Senate (Seanad Éireann). No

voter may exercise more than one vote and the voting shall be by secret ballot. The mode and place of exercising this right shall be determined by law.

**ARTICLE 15**—Every citizen who has reached the age of 21 years and who is not placed under disability or incapacity by the Constitution or by

[American Cartoon]



—Dallas News

### END OF THE HONEYMOON

law shall be eligible to become a member of the Chamber of Deputies (Dáil Éireann).

**ARTICLE 16**—No person may be at the same time a member both of the Chamber (Dáil Éireann) and of the Senate (Seanad Éireann).

**ARTICLE 17**—The oath to be taken by members of Parliament (Oireachtas) shall be in the following form:

I ..... do solemnly swear true faith and allegiance to the Constitution of the Irish Free State as by law established, and that I will be faithful to H. M. King George V., his heirs and successors by law in virtue of the common citizenship of Ireland with Great Britain and her adherence to and membership of the group of nations forming the British Commonwealth of Nations.

Such oath shall be taken and subscribed by every member of the Parliament (Oireachtas) before taking his seat therein before the representative of the Crown or some person authorized by him.

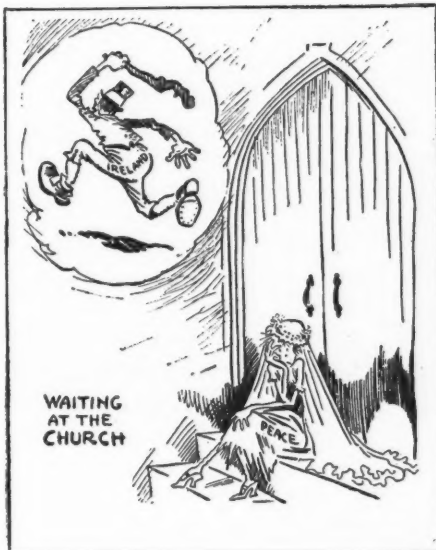
**ARTICLE 18**—Every member of the Parliament (Oireachtas) shall, except in case of treason, felony or breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest in going to and returning from and while within the precincts of either house, and shall



not be amenable to any action or proceeding at law in respect to any utterance in either house.

**ARTICLE 19**—All reports and publications of the Parliament (Oireachtas) or of either house thereof shall be privileged and utterances made in either house wherever published shall be privileged.

[American Cartoon]



—Pittsburgh Sun

THAT JUNE WEDDING

**ARTICLE 20**—Each house shall make its own rules and Standing Orders, with power to attach penalties for their infringement, and shall have power to insure freedom of debate, to protect its official documents and the private papers of its members, and to protect itself and its members against any person or persons interfering with, molesting or attempting to corrupt its members in the exercise of their duties.

**ARTICLE 21**—Each house shall elect its own Chairman and Deputy Chairman, and shall prescribe their powers, duties and terms of office.

**ARTICLE 22**—All matters in each house shall, save as otherwise provided by this Constitution, be determined by a majority of the votes of the members present other than the Chairman or presiding member, who shall have and exercise a casting vote in the case of an equality of votes. The number of members necessary to constitute a meeting of either house for the exercise of its powers shall be determined by its Standing Orders.

**ARTICLE 23**—The Parliament (Oireachtas) shall make provision for the payment of its members and may, in addition, provide them with free traveling facilities in any part of Ireland.

**ARTICLE 24**—The Parliament (Oireachtas)

shall hold at least one session each year. The Parliament (Oireachtas) shall be summoned and dissolved by the Representative of the Crown in the name of the King, and subject as aforesaid the Chamber (Dail Eireann) shall fix the date of reassembly of the Parliament (Oireachtas) and the date of the conclusion of the session of each house provided that the sessions of the Senate (Seanad Eireann) shall not be concluded without its own consent.

**ARTICLE 25**—Sittings of each house of the Parliament (Oireachtas) shall be public. In cases of special emergency either house may hold a private sitting with the assent of two-thirds of the members present.

### *B—The Chamber of Deputies (Dail Eireann)*

**ARTICLE 26**—The Chamber (Dail Eireann) shall be composed of members who represent constituencies determined by law. The number of members shall be fixed from time to time by the Parliament (Oireachtas), but the total number of members of the Chamber (Dail Eireann) shall not be fixed at less than one member for each thirty thousand of the population, or at more than one member for each twenty thousand of the population: Provided that the proportion between the number of members to be elected at any time for each constituency and the population of each constituency, as ascertained at the last preceding census, shall, so far as possible, be identical throughout the country. The members shall be elected upon principles of proportional representation. The Parliament (Oireachtas) shall revise the constituencies at least once in every ten years, with due regard to changes in distribution of the population, but any alterations in the constituencies shall not take effect during the life of the Chamber (Dail Eireann) sitting when such revision is made.

**ARTICLE 27**—At a general election for the Chamber (Dail Eireann) the polls shall be held on the same day throughout the country and that day shall be a day not later than thirty days after the date of the dissolution and shall be proclaimed a public holiday. The Chamber (Dail Eireann) shall meet within one month of such day, and shall unless earlier dissolved continue for four years from the date of its first meeting and not longer. The Chamber (Dail Eireann) may not at any time be dissolved except on the advice of the Executive Council.

**ARTICLE 28**—In case of death, resignation or disqualification of a member of the Chamber (Dail Eireann), the vacancy shall be filled by election in manner to be determined by law.

### *C—The Senate (Seanad Eireann)*

**ARTICLE 29**—The Senate (Seanad Eireann) shall be composed of citizens who have done honor to the nation by reason of useful public service or who, because of special qualifications or attainments, represent important aspects of the nation's life.

**ARTICLE 30**—Every university in the Irish Free State (Saorstad Eireann) shall be entitled

to elect two representatives to the Senate (Seanad Éireann). The number of Senators exclusive of university members shall be fifty-six. A citizen to be eligible for membership of the Senate (Seanad) must be a person eligible to become a member of the Chamber (Dail Éireann) and must have reached the age of 35 years. Subject to any provision for the constitution of the first Senate (Seanad) the term of office of a member of the Senate (Seanad), shall be twelve years.

**ARTICLE 31**—One-fourth of the members of the Senate (Seanad Éireann) exclusive of the university members shall be elected every three years from a panel constituted as hereinafter mentioned at an election at which the Irish Free State (Saorstát Éireann) shall form one electoral area, and the elections shall be held on principles of proportional representation. One member shall be elected by each university entitled to representation in the Senate (Seanad) every six years.

**ARTICLE 32**—Before each election of members of the Senate (Seanad Éireann)—other than university members—a panel shall be formed consisting of—

(a) Three times as many qualified persons as there are members to be elected, of whom two-thirds shall be nominated by the Chamber (Dail Éireann), voting according to principles of proportional representation, and one-third shall be nominated by the Senate (Seanad Éireann) voting according to principles of proportional representation; and

(b) Such persons who have at any time been members of the Senate (Seanad)—including members about to retire—as signify by notice in writing addressed to the President of the Executive Council their desire to be included in the panel.

The method of proposal and selection for nomination shall be decided by the Chamber (Dail Éireann) and Senate (Seanad), respectively, with special reference to the necessity for arranging for the representation of important interests and institutions in the country; provided that each proposal shall be in writing and shall state the qualifications of the person proposed. As soon as the panel has been formed a list of the names of the members of the panel arranged in alphabetical order with their qualifications shall be published.

**ARTICLE 33**—In case of the death, resignation, or disqualification of a member of the Senate (Seanad Éireann)—other than a university member—his place shall be filled by a vote of the Senate (Seanad). Any Senator so chosen shall retire from office at the conclusion of the three-year period then running and the vacancy or vacancies thus created shall be additional to the places to be filled under Article 31. The term of office of the members chosen at the election after the first fourteen elected shall conclude at the end of the period or periods at which the Senator or Senators by whose death or withdrawal the vacancy or vacancies was or were originally created would be due to retire; provided that the fifteenth member shall be deemed to have filled the vacancy first created in order of time and so on.

In case of the death, resignation or disqualification of a university member of the Senate (Seanad), the university by which he was elected shall elect a person to fill his place, and the member so elected shall hold office so long as the member in whose place he was elected would have held office.

#### D—Legislation

**ARTICLE 34**—The Chamber (Dail Éireann) shall in relation to the subject matter of money bills, as hereinafter defined, have legislative authority exclusive of the Senate (Seanad Éireann).

A money bill means a bill which contains only provisions dealing with all or any of the following subjects—namely, the imposition, repeal, remission, alteration or regulation of taxation; the imposition for the payment of debt or other financial purposes of charges on public moneys, or the variation or repeal of any such charges; supply; the appropriation, receipt, custody, issue or audit of accounts of public money; the raising or guarantee of any loan or the repayment thereof; subordinate matters incidental to those subjects or any of them. In this definition the expressions “taxation,” “public money,” and “loan,” respectively, do not include any taxation, money or loan raised by local authorities or bodies for local purposes.

The Chairman of the Chamber (Dail) shall certify any bill which in his opinion is a money bill to be a money bill, but if within three days after a bill has been passed by the Chamber (Dail) two-fifths of the members of either house by notice in writing addressed to the Chairman of the house of which they are members so require, the question whether the bill is or is not a money bill shall be referred to a Committee of Privileges consisting of three members elected by each House with a Chairman, who shall be the Senior Judge of the Supreme Court able and willing to act, and who, in the case of an equality of votes, but not otherwise, shall be entitled to vote. The decision of the committee on the question shall be final and conclusive.

**ARTICLE 35**—The Chamber (Dail Éireann) shall as soon as possible after the commencement of each financial year consider the budget of receipts and expenditure of the Irish Free State (Saorstát Éireann) for that year, and, save in so far as may be provided by specific enactment in each case, the legislation required to give effect to the budget of each year shall be enacted within that year.

**ARTICLE 36**—Money shall not be appropriated by vote, resolution, or law, unless the purpose of the appropriation has in the same session been recommended by a message from the Representative of the Crown acting on the advice of the Executive Council.

**ARTICLE 37**—Every bill initiated in and passed by the Chamber (Dail Éireann) shall be sent to the Senate (Seanad Éireann), and may, unless it be a money bill, be amended in the Senate (Seanad Éireann), and the Chamber (Dail Éireann) shall consider any such amendment; but a bill passed by the Chamber (Dail Éireann) and considered by the Senate (Seanad Éireann)

shall, not later than two hundred and seventy days after it shall have been first sent to the Senate (Seanad), or such longer period as may be agreed upon by the two houses, be deemed to be passed by both houses in its form as last passed by the Chamber (Dail); provided that any money bill shall be sent to the Senate (Seanad) for its recommendations and at a period not longer than fourteen days after it shall have been sent to the Senate (Seanad), it shall be returned to the Chamber (Dail), which may pass it, accepting or rejecting all or any of the recommendations of the Senate (Seanad), and as so passed shall be deemed to have been passed by both houses. When a bill other than a money bill has been sent to the Senate (Seanad) a joint sitting of the members of both houses may, on a resolution passed by the Senate (Seanad), be convened for the purpose of debating, but not of voting upon, the proposals of the bill or any amendment of the same.

**ARTICLE 38**—A bill may be initiated in the Senate (Seanad Eireann) and if passed by the Senate (Seanad) shall be introduced into the Chamber (Dail Eireann). If amended by the Chamber (Dail) the bill shall be considered as a bill initiated in the Chamber (Dail). If rejected by the Chamber (Dail) it shall not be introduced again in the same session, but the Chamber (Dail) may reconsider it on its own motion.

**ARTICLE 39**—A bill passed by either house and accepted by the other house shall be deemed to be passed by both houses.

**ARTICLE 40**—So soon as any bill shall have been passed or deemed to have been passed by both houses, the Executive Council shall present the same to the representative of the Crown for the signification by him, in the King's name, of the King's assent, and such representative may withhold the King's assent or reserve the bill for the signification of the King's pleasure; provided that the representative of the Crown shall in the withholding of such assent to or the reservation of any bill, act in accordance with the law, practice and constitutional usage governing the like withholding of assent or reservation in the Dominion of Canada.

A bill reserved for the signification of the King's pleasure shall not have any force unless and until within one year from the day on which it was presented to the representative of the Crown for the King's assent, the representative of the Crown signifies by speech or message to each of the houses of the Parliament (Oireachtas), or by proclamation, that it has received the assent of the King in Council.

An entry of every such speech, message or proclamation shall be made in the Journal of each house and a duplicate thereof, duly attested, shall be delivered to the proper officer to be kept among the records of the Irish Free State (Saorstát Eireann).

**ARTICLE 41**—As soon as may be after any law has received the King's assent, the clerk, or such officer as the Chamber may appoint for the purpose, shall cause two fair copies of such law to be made; one being in the Irish language and

the other in the English language, one of which copies shall be signed by the representative of the Crown to be enrolled for record in the office of such officer of the Supreme Court as the Chamber (Dail Eireann) may determine, and such copies shall be conclusive evidence as to the provisions of every such law, and in case of conflict between the two copies so deposited, that signed by the representative of the Crown shall prevail.

**ARTICLE 42**—The Parliament (Oireachtas) shall have no power to declare acts to be infringements of the law which were not so at the date of their commission.

**ARTICLE 43**—The Parliament (Oireachtas) may create subordinate legislatures, but it shall not confer thereon any powers in respect of the navy, army or air force, alienage or naturalization, coinage, legal tender, trade marks, designs, merchandise marks, copyright, patent rights, weights and measures, submarine cables, wireless telegraphy, Post Office, railways, aerial navigation, customs and excise.

**ARTICLE 44**—The Parliament (Oireachtas) may provide for the establishment of functional or vocational councils representing branches of the social and economic life of the nation. A law establishing any such council shall determine its powers, rights and duties, and its relation to the Government of the Irish Free State (Saorstát Eireann).

**ARTICLE 45**—The Parliament (Oireachtas) has the exclusive right to regulate the raising and maintaining of such armed forces as are mentioned in the Scheduled Treaty in the territory of the Irish Free State (Saorstát) and every such force shall be subject to the control of the Parliament (Oireachtas).

#### *E—Referendum and Initiative*

**ARTICLE 46**—Any bill passed or deemed to have been passed by both houses may be suspended for a period of ninety days on the written demand of two-fifths of the members of the Chamber (Dail Eireann) or of a majority of the members of the Senate (Seanad Eireann) presented to the President of the Executive Council not later than seven days from the day on which such bill shall have been so passed or deemed to have been so passed. Such a bill shall be submitted by referendum to the decision of the people if demanded before the expiration of the ninety days, either by a resolution of the Senate (Seanad Eireann) assented to by three-fifths of the members of the Senate (Seanad Eireann) or by a petition signed by not less than one-twentieth of the voters then on the register of voters, and the decision of the people on such referendum shall be conclusive. These provisions shall not apply to money bills or to such bills as shall be declared by both houses to be necessary for the immediate preservation of the public peace, health or safety.

**ARTICLE 47**—The Parliament (Oireachtas) may provide for the initiation by the people of proposals for laws or constitutional amend-



ments. Should the Parliament (Oireachtas) fail to make such provision within two years, it shall on the petition of not less than 100,000 voters on the register, of whom not more than 20,000 shall be voters in any one constituency, either make such provisions or submit the question to the people for decision in accordance with the ordinary regulations governing the referendum. Any legislation passed by the Parliament (Oireachtas) providing for such initiation by the people shall provide (1) that such proposals may be initiated on a petition of 50,000 voters on the register, (2) that if the Parliament (Oireachtas) rejects a proposal so initiated, it shall be submitted to the people for decision in accordance with the ordinary regulations governing the referendum; and (3) that if the Parliament (Oireachtas) enacts a proposal so initiated, such enactment shall be subject to the provisions respecting ordinary legislation or amendments of the Constitution as the case may be.

**ARTICLE 48**—Save in the case of actual invasion, the Irish Free State (Saorstát Eireann), shall not be committed to active participation in any war without the assent of the Parliament (Oireachtas).

**ARTICLE 49**—Amendments of this Constitution within the terms of the Scheduled Treaty may be made by the Parliament (Oireachtas), but every such amendment must be submitted to a referendum of the people; and shall not be passed unless a majority of the voters on the register record their votes and either a majority of the voters on the register or two-thirds of the votes recorded are in favor of the amendment.

### SECTION III.—THE EXECUTIVE

#### *E—Executive Council (Aireacht)*

**ARTICLE 50**—The Executive Authority of the Irish Free State (Saorstát Eireann), is hereby declared to be vested in the King, and shall be exercisable, in accordance with the law, practice and constitutional usage governing the exercise of the executive authority in the case of the Dominion of Canada, by the Representative of the Crown. There shall be a Council to aid and advise in the government of the Irish Free State (Saorstát Eireann) to be styled the Executive Council (Aireacht). The Executive Council shall be responsible to the Chamber (Dail Eireann), and shall consist of not more than twelve Ministers (Airi) appointed by the Representative of the Crown, of whom four Ministers shall be members of the Chamber (Dail Eireann) and a number not exceeding eight, chosen from all citizens eligible for election to the Chamber (Dail Eireann), who shall not be members of Parliament (Oireachtas) during their term of office, and who, if at the time of their appointment they are members of Parliament (Oireachtas), shall by virtue of such appointment vacate their seats; provided that the

Chamber (Dail Eireann) may from time to time on the motion of the President of the Executive Council determine that a particular Minister or Ministers not exceeding three may be members of Parliament (Oireachtas) in addition to the four members of the Chamber (Dail Eireann) above mentioned.

**ARTICLE 51**—The Ministers who are required to be members of the Chamber (Dail Eireann) shall include the President of the Executive Council (Uachtaran) and the Vice President of the Executive Council (Tanaist). The President of the Executive Council shall be the chief of the Executive Council and shall be appointed on the nomination of the Chamber (Dail), and the Vice President of the Executive Council and the other Ministers who are members of Parliament (Oireachtas) shall be appointed on the nomination of the President of the Executive Council; and he and the Ministers nominated by him shall retire from office should he fail to be supported by a majority in the Chamber (Dail), but the President of the Executive Council and such Ministers shall continue to carry on their duties until their successors are appointed.

**ARTICLE 52**—Ministers who are not members of the Parliament (Oireachtas) shall be nominated by a committee of members of the Chamber (Dail Eireann) chosen by a method to be determined by the Chamber (Dail) so as to be impartially representative of the Chamber (Dail). Such Ministers shall be chosen with due regard to their suitability for office and should as far as possible be generally representative of the Irish Free State (Saorstát Eireann) as a whole rather than of groups or of parties. Should a nomination not be acceptable to the Chamber (Dail), the committee shall continue to propose names until one is found acceptable.

[American Cartoon]



—Sacramento Bee

SEEMS AS IF CHILDREN HAVE TO HAVE JUST SO MUCH TROUBLE BEFORE THEY GROW UP!



**ARTICLE 53**—Each Minister not a member of the Parliament (Oireachtas) shall be the responsible head of the Executive Department or Departments as head of which he has been appointed as aforesaid; provided that should arrangements for functional or vocational councils be made by the Parliament (Oireachtas) these Ministers or any of them may, should the Parliament (Oireachtas) so decide, be members of and be nominated on the advice of such councils. The term of office of any such Minister shall be the term of the Chamber (Dail Eireann) existing at the time of his appointment or such other period as may be fixed by law, but he shall continue in office until his successor shall have been appointed; and no such Minister shall be removed from office during his term unless the proposal to remove him has been previously submitted to a committee chosen by a method to be determined by the Chamber (Dail) so as to be impartially representative of the Chamber (Dail) and then only if the committee shall have reported that such Minister has been guilty of malfeasance in office or has not been performing his duties in a competent and satisfactory manner, or has failed to carry out the lawfully expressed will of Parliament (Oireachtas).

**ARTICLE 54**—The Ministers who are members of the Parliament (Oireachtas) shall alone be responsible for all matters relating to external affairs, whether policy, negotiations, or executive acts. Subject to the foregoing provision, the

Executive Council shall meet and act as a collective authority; provided, however, that each Minister shall be individually responsible to the Chamber (Dail Eireann) for the administration of the department or departments of which he is head.

**ARTICLE 55**—Ministers who are not members of the Chamber (Dail Eireann) shall by virtue of their office possess all the rights and privileges of a member of the Chamber (Dail) except the right to vote, and shall, if not members of the Parliament (Oireachtas), comply with the provisions of Article 17 as if they were members of the Chamber (Dail) and may be required by the Chamber (Dail) to attend and answer questions.

**ARTICLE 56**—Should the President of the Executive Council die, resign, or be permanently incapacitated, the Vice President of the Executive Council shall act in his place until a President of the Executive Council shall be elected. The Vice President of the Executive Council shall also act in the place of the President of the Executive Council during his temporary absence.

**ARTICLE 57**—The members of the Executive Council shall receive such remuneration as may from time to time be prescribed by law, but the remuneration of any Minister shall not be diminished during his term of office.

**ARTICLE 58**—The Representative of the Crown, who shall be styled the Governor General of the Irish Free State, shall be appointed in like manner as the Governor General of Canada and in accordance with the practice observed in the making of such appointments. The salary of the Governor General of the Irish Free State shall be of the like amount as that now payable to the Governor General of the Commonwealth of Australia, and shall be charged on the public funds of the Irish Free State (Saorstát Eireann), and suitable provision shall be made out of those funds for the maintenance of his official residence and establishment.

**ARTICLE 59**—The Executive Council shall prepare the budget of receipts and expenditure of the Irish Free State (Saorstát Eireann) for each financial year and shall present it to the Chamber (Dail Eireann) before the close of the previous financial year.

### B—Financial Control

**ARTICLE 60**—All revenues of the Irish Free State (Saorstát Eireann), from whatever source arising, shall, subject to such exceptions as may be provided by law, form one fund, and shall be appropriated for the purposes of the Irish Free State (Saorstát Eireann) in the manner and subject to the charges and liabilities imposed by law.

**ARTICLE 61**—The Chamber (Dail Eireann) shall appoint a Comptroller and Auditor General to act on behalf of the Irish Free State (Saorstát Eireann). He shall control all disbursements and shall audit all accounts of moneys administered by or under the authority of the Parliament (Oireachtas) and shall report to the

[American Cartoon]



—Rochester Democrat and Chronicle

UNSTRUNG

Chamber (Dail) at stated periods to be determined by law.

**ARTICLE 62**—The Comptroller and Auditor General shall not be removed except for stated misbehavior or incapacity on resolutions passed by the Chamber (Dail Eireann) and the Senate (Seanad Eireann). Subject to this provision the terms and conditions of his tenure of office shall be fixed by law. He shall not be a member of the Parliament (Oireachtas) nor shall he hold any other office or position of emolument.

#### SECTION IV.—THE JUDICIARY

**ARTICLE 63**—The judicial power of the Irish Free State (Saorstad Eireann) shall be exercised and justice administered in the public courts established by Parliament (Oireachtas) by Judges appointed in manner hereinafter provided. These courts shall comprise Courts of First Instance and a Court of Final Appeal to be called the Supreme Court (Cúirt Uachtarach). The Courts of First Instance shall include a High Court (Ard Chúirt), invested with full original jurisdiction in and power to determine all matters and questions whether of law or fact, civil or criminal, and also courts of local and limited jurisdiction with a right of appeal as determined by law.

**ARTICLE 64**—The judicial power of the High Court shall extend to the question of the validity of any law having regard to the provisions of the Constitution. In all cases in which such matters shall come into question, the High Court alone shall exercise original jurisdiction.

**ARTICLE 65**—The Supreme Court of the Irish Free State (Saorstad Eireann) shall, with such exceptions (not including cases which involve questions as to the validity of any law), and subject to such regulations as may be prescribed by law, have appellate jurisdiction from all decisions of the High Court. The decision of the Supreme Court shall in all cases be final and conclusive, and shall not be reviewed or capable of being reviewed by any other court, tribunal or authority whatsoever.

Provided that nothing in this Constitution shall impair the right of any person to petition his Majesty for special leave to appeal from the Supreme Court to his Majesty in Council or the right of his Majesty to grant such leave.

**ARTICLE 66**—The number of Judges, the constitution and organization of, and distribution of business and jurisdiction among the said courts and Judges, and all matters of procedure shall be as prescribed by the laws for the time being in force and the regulations made thereunder.

**ARTICLE 67**—The Judges of the Supreme Court and of the High Court and of all other courts established in pursuance of this constitution shall be appointed by the Representative of the Crown on the advice of the Executive Council. The Judges of the Supreme Court and of the High Court shall not be removed except for stated misbehavior or incapacity, and then only by resolutions passed by both the Chamber (Dail

Eireann) and the Senate (Seanad Eireann). The age of retirement, the remuneration and the pension of such Judges on retirement, and the declarations to be taken by them on appointment, shall be prescribed by law. Such remuneration may not be diminished during their continuance in office. The terms of appointment of the Judges of such other courts as may be created shall be prescribed by law.

**ARTICLE 68**—All Judges shall be independent in the exercise of their functions and subject only to the Constitution and the law. A Judge shall not be eligible to sit in Parliament (Oireachtas) and shall not hold any other office or position of emolument.

**ARTICLE 69**—No one shall be tried save in due course of law, and extraordinary courts shall not be established. The jurisdiction of courts-martial shall not be extended to or exercised over the civil population save in time of war, and for acts committed in time of war, and in accordance with the regulations to be prescribed by law. Such jurisdiction shall not be exercised in any area in which the civil courts are open or capable of being held, and no person shall be removed from one area to another for the purpose of creating such jurisdiction.

**ARTICLE 70**—A member of the armed forces of the Irish Free State (Saorstad Eireann) not on active service shall not be tried by any court-martial for an offense cognizable by the civil courts.

**ARTICLE 71**—No person shall, save in case of summary jurisdiction prescribed by law for minor offences, be tried without a jury on any criminal charge.

#### SECTION V.—TRANSITORY PROVISIONS

**ARTICLE 72**—Subjects to this Constitution and to the extent to which they are not inconsistent therewith, the laws in force in the Irish Free State (Saorstad Eireann), at the date of the coming into operation of this Constitution shall continue to be of full force and effect until the same or any of them shall have been repealed or amended by enactment of the Parliament (Oireachtas).

**ARTICLE 73**—Until courts have been established for the Irish Free State (Saorstad Eireann) in accordance with this Constitution, the Supreme Court of Judicature, County Courts, Courts of Quarter Session and Courts of Summary Jurisdiction, as at present existing, shall for the time being continue to exercise the same jurisdiction as heretofore, and any Judge or Justice, being a member of any such court, holding office at the time when this Constitution comes into operation, shall for the time being continue to be a member thereof and hold office by the like tenure and upon the like terms as heretofore, unless, in the case of a Judge of the said Supreme Court or of a County Court, he signifies to the Representative of the Crown his desire to resign. Any vacancies in any of the said courts so con-

tinued may be filled by appointment made in like manner as appointments to Judgeships in the courts established under this Constitution.

Provided that the provisions of Article 65 as to the decisions of the Supreme Court established under this Constitution shall apply to decisions of the Court of Appeal continued by this article.

**ARTICLE 74**—If any Judge of the said Supreme Court of Judicature or of any of the said County Courts resigns as aforesaid, or if any such Judge, on the establishment of courts under this Constitution, is not with his consent appointed to be a Judge of any such court, he shall, for the purpose of Article 10 of the Scheduled Treaty, be treated as if he had retired in consequence of the change of government effected in pursuance of the said treaty, but the rights so conferred shall be without prejudice to any rights or claims that he may have against the British Government.

**ARTICLE 75**—Every existing officer of the Provisional Government who has been transferred to that Government from the British Government, and every existing officer of the British Government who, at the date of the coming into operation of this Constitution, is engaged or employed in the administration of public services which on that date become public services of the Irish Free State (Saorstát Eireann)—except those whose services have been lent by the British Government to the Provisional Government—shall on that date be transferred to and become an officer of the Irish Free State (Saorstát Eireann) and shall hold office by a tenure, and shall be entitled to the benefit of Article 10 of the Scheduled Treaty.

**ARTICLE 76**—As respects departmental property, assets, rights and liabilities, the Government of the Irish Free State (Saorstát Eireann) shall be regarded as the successors of the Provisional Government, and, to the extent to which functions of any department of the British Government become functions of the Government of the Irish Free State (Saorstát Eireann), as the successors of such department of the British Government.

**ARTICLE 77**—After the date on which this Constitution comes into operation, the House of Parliament elected in pursuance of the Irish Free State (Agreement) act, 1922 (being the Constituent Assembly for the settlement of this Constitution), may, for a period not exceeding one year from that date, but subject to compliance by the members thereof with the provisions of Article 17 of this Constitution, exercise all the powers and authorities conferred on the Chamber

(Dail Eireann) by this Constitution, and the first election for the Chamber (Dail Eireann) under Articles 26 and 27 hereof shall take place as soon as possible after the expiration of such period.

**ARTICLE 78**—The first Senate (Seanad Eireann) shall be constituted immediately after the coming into operation of this Constitution in the manner following, that is to say:

(a) The first Senate (Seanad) shall consist of two members elected by each of the universities in the Irish Free State (Saorstát Eireann) and fifty-six other members, of whom twenty-eight shall be elected and twenty-eight shall be nominated.

(b) The twenty-eight nominated members of the Senate (Seanad) shall be nominated by the President of the Executive Council, who shall, in making such nominations, have special regard to the providing of representation for groups or parties not then adequately represented in the Chamber (Dail Eireann).

(c) The twenty-eight elected members of the Senate (Seanad), shall be elected by the Chamber (Dail Eireann) voting on principles of proportional representation.

(d) Of the university members, one member elected by each university to be selected by lot, shall hold office for six years; the remaining university members shall hold office for the full period of twelve years.

(e) Of the twenty-eight nominated members, fourteen, to be selected by lot, shall hold office for the full period of twelve years; the remaining fourteen shall hold office for the period of six years.

(f) Of the twenty-eight elected members, the first fourteen elected shall hold office for the period of nine years, the remaining fourteen shall hold office for the period of three years.

(g) At the termination of the period of office of any such members, members shall be elected in their place in manner provided by Article 31.

(h) Casual vacancies shall be filled in manner provided by Article 33.

(i) For the purpose of the election of members for any university under this article, all persons whose names appear on the register for the university in force at the date of the coming into operation of this Constitution shall, notwithstanding anything in Article 14, be entitled to vote.

**ARTICLE 79**—The passing and adoption of this Constitution by the Constituent Assembly and the British Parliament shall be announced as soon as may be, and not later than the sixth day of December, nineteen hundred and twenty-two, by Proclamation of the Majesty, and this Constitution shall come into operation on the issue of such proclamation.



FIELD MARSHAL SIR HENRY H.  
WILSON

Former Chief of Imperial General Staff and  
Member of Parliament from Ulster, assassi-  
nated at his home in London, June 22, 1922

## ENGLAND STIRRED BY AN ASSASSINATION

[PERIOD ENDED JULY 15, 1922]

A PARLIAMENTARY crisis followed upon the assassination of Field Marshal Sir Henry Wilson, M. P., in London on June 22. The Field Marshal was shot down by two men outside his residence in Eaton Place and died immediately. After a running fight the two men were captured and subsequently gave their names as James Connolly and James O'Brien. They were formally charged with willful murder by the Coroner's jury at Westminster Court.

The murder created a great sensation, which quickly took on political color on the assumption that it had been inspired by Irish republican extremists, owing to the Field Marshal's recent close affiliation with the Ulster Government, and the widening of a breach between himself and the British Cabinet, the latter particularly noticeable considering the friendship which had previously attached him to the war fortunes of Premier Lloyd George. The "die-hards" in Parliament, therefore, seized upon the occasion to attack the Government's whole Irish policy, with the hope of at least bringing down Home Secretary Shortt, for some time under the fire of criticism, if bigger Cabinet game was beyond their reach.

In these circumstances the Government set aside Monday, June 26, to face the situation in the House of Commons. Meantime the police

authorities made a general raid in suspicious quarters and arrested seventeen men and one woman as being possibly connected with a widespread murder plot.

On the morning of the 26th the late Field Marshal Wilson was accorded a public funeral and interment in St. Paul's Cathedral, in which all the pomp and circumstance of both religious and military ceremonial were impressively observed. Among allied notables attending were Marshal Foch and General Nivelle. United States Ambassador Harvey was accompanied by Colonel S. Albert, U. S. A., and Captain Hussey, U. S. N.

In the afternoon the debate on the Government's Irish policy was opened in the House of Commons by Winston Churchill, with all the members present attired in mourning. Mr. Churchill made a forcible statement. Since a majority of the Irish people had clearly shown their support of the treaty, he said, the British Government intended to demand of the Irish Provisional Government that the disorders of a rebellious faction be stopped; otherwise the British Government would be free to denounce the treaty and resume a free hand in dealing with Ireland.

In making his defense, Home Secretary Shortt created a sensation by declaring that neither of the men charged with the murder of Sir Henry



Wilson had anything to do with Ireland. They were both Londoners, both ex-soldiers, both living at home with their parents, and there was no evidence that they had ever been in Ireland in their lives. This went to absolve Mr. Shortt for responsibility in not detecting an Irish plot, which apparently did not exist. Lloyd George spoke at length in a deeply sympathetic vein of the late Field Marshal and concluded with a repetition of the three essential factors demanded of Ireland by Great Britain, viz., Ireland must remain within the empire and accept the authority of the Crown, and Ulster must not be forced in against her will. After other members had spoken on both sides, the House voted approval of the Government's Irish policy by 342 to 75.

Sir Joseph A. Robinson, a South African magnate, recently refused a peerage, and his act was made the occasion of severe criticism of the Government. In the House of Lords on June 30, speaking on the subject of the "sale of honors," the Earl of Shelborne described the present system of conferring honors as a public scandal of the first magnitude, and charged the Government with what amounted to selling recommendations for the grant of honors for a definite sum of money to be contributed to the party funds. Lord Robert Cecil suggested a committee of inquiry to investigate the whole subject, but the Prime Minister refused to accede. The *Morning Post* maintains that there is even a regular tariff price for a knighthood, ranging from £10,000 to £12,000, a baronetcy from £30,000 to £40,000 and proportionately bigger prices for higher honors.

An exceptionally cordial welcome was extended by all classes to the American Chief Justice, William Howard Taft, and to Mrs. Taft, following their arrival on June 18. As an ex-President of the United States, Mr. Taft was received by King George at Court on the status of a former ruler, this being a departure in British official etiquette.

The return to England on June 20 of the Prince of Wales from his tour of India and the Orient was marked by enthusiastic popular demonstrations at Plymouth and subsequently in London.

Repudiation of Communism by British labor was placed in evidence at Edinburgh on June 28, when application by Communists for admission to the Labor Party in annual conference was turned down by a card vote of 3,086,000 to 261,000.

After a debate on the question of the British mandate for Palestine in the House of Commons on July 4, the vote to reduce the Colonial Secretary's salary in order to call attention to the matter was rejected by 292 to 35 votes.

#### AUSTRALIA

Australia is to cut her naval, military and air services by £1,750,000; junior cadet training is to be abolished and two quotas of militia will be raised instead of seven. The Australia, former flagship of the Commonwealth Navy, is about to be scrapped in pursuance of the Washington conference agreement, it was announced from Sydney on July 3.

Chinese traders and artisans with their families are settling in New Guinea, according to a Sydney

dispatch of July 3, raising a difficult problem. The Federal Government is preparing a series of ordinances to govern land settlement and mining operations in the mandated territory.

#### NEW ZEALAND

A Meat Export Board, with power to control shipments and, if advisable, to establish a national compulsory pool, has been established in New Zealand. Resolutions affirming the principle of a compulsory dairy produce pool were adopted by the National Dairy Association at Auckland with a capital of \$5,000,000.

Partly through the efforts of William E. Johnson, the American prohibition advocate, New Zealand will vote on a national prohibition law in the Autumn.

#### BRITISH WEST INDIES

E. F. L. Wood, Under Secretary for the Colonies, on June 12 submitted to Parliament his report in printed form on his recent visit to the British West Indies. He recommends a limited measure of representation of the indigenous element among the elected members in the different Legislatures, placing the latter in the case of Jamaica in the majority. He would have the question of federation of the islands further studied, especially a proposal for the association of the Windward Islands and Trinidad. The most serious difficulty in the way of federation, he says, is the great distances that separate the colonies. He urges a minimum preference of £3 15s. a ton on West Indian sugar to prevent ruin of the planters caused by the loss of the American and German markets.

The Canadian Pacific's West Indies ship service was canceled at the end of June and the vessels withdrawn, because the West Indies had made only a partial attempt to carry out the agreement of 1920 for preferential tariffs on Canadian products and for cash subsidies.

The Jamaica Legislature has asked the Government to raise the tax on Chinese and rigidly to enforce the literary test to prevent their landing.

Little Tobago Island is being offered for sale in Trinidad for £2,000. It is only a few acres in extent, but has become known for its colony of birds of paradise. The birds were introduced about twelve years ago by Sir William Ingram, to whom the island belonged. A few pairs were brought from their native home in the Malay Archipelago and set free. They now number several hundred. The Zoological Society of New York was said to be considering the purchase of the island.

#### SOUTH AFRICA

The biggest rush in the history of South Africa's alluvial diamond diggings occurred at Mosesberg, sixty miles from Kimberley, on June 10, when 15,000 diggers from all parts of the Union and Rhodesia pegged out their claims. The line of start extended more than four miles, and, as soon as the proclamation was read, each digger, carrying four pegs, started for the location, the rush resembling that when Oklahoma was opened to settlement.

A Lisbon dispatch of July 5 said that the Portuguese Socialist Party was preparing a protest against the importation of workers from the Island of Mozambique for labor in the Transvaal mines, practically amounting to slavery.

Hottentots in the Southwest Protectorate, al-

though broken into small bands, were reported in June as raiding lonely farms and stealing cattle. Nicholas Christian, the principal chief, still defies the Government. Airplanes did more to quell the rebellion than all the volunteer forces.

## FRANCE AND HER WAR DEBT PROBLEMS

[PERIOD ENDED JULY 15, 1922]

THE adjournment of the International Bankers' Committee on June 10, and the tenor of its report, setting forth the reasons why it had found itself unable to recommend any foreign loan to Germany at that time, produced a very unfavorable reaction in France. Financial experts criticised the report (which is printed on page 856) on two main grounds; first, because it plainly implied that France's uncompromising stand on reparations was to blame for the failure of the committee's efforts; and, second, because the committee had failed to lay down the precise terms with which Germany would have to comply before she would be in a sound position to float an international loan.

One reference in the bankers' report—that linking the whole reparations problem with the mutual remission of war debt by the allied powers—was favorably received by French public opinion. The French Government officials had already expressed the view that if any reduction was at all possible, it would depend on that contingency. A French Financial Commission, headed by Jean V. Parmentier, Director of Capital at the French Ministry of Finance, sailed from Paris on July 1 for the United States, charged to confer with the War Debt Commission in Washington, to present detailed information regarding France's present financial resources, and, it was understood, to show the War Debt Commission that France was quite unable to meet her obligations for some time to come unless Germany paid her. The sending of this mission was in response to the measure passed by Congress in February, inviting war debtors to repay capital and interest at 4½ per cent. within twenty-five years. French experts declare, however, that even if Germany were to pay 800,000,000 gold marks yearly, it would not cover France's annual indebtedness in interest to the United States and Great Britain on the 25-year amortization basis proposed by the United States. France's war debt to the United States totals \$3,340,857,593, of which only \$407,341,145 represents the purchase of American army stocks. Interest amounting to \$20,000,000 on this last item has been paid regularly; interest on the balance has not been demanded. If Germany were to live up to her agreement, said a high official of the Finance Ministry, the share of France would be only 350,000,000 gold marks yearly, as

100,000,000 marks must be deducted for the costs of the army of occupation. If both the United States and England demand interest payments and amortization, it would compel France to pay \$400,000,000 annually, and with her best efforts she would have to default by at least \$50,000,000 annually. France, this official said, is paying 50,000,000,000 francs to the devastated regions, to meet the program of 50 per cent. reconstruction listed as urgent; the nation's resources taken all together, he added, were insufficient to meet war debt interest and amortization under present conditions. M. Parmentier, on his arrival in New York, said it was his intention to discuss France's war debt in friendly and frank fashion, and to ascertain exactly what the United States would do.

Premier Poincaré was made the object of Communist attacks in the French Chamber on July 5 and 6, on the ground of his alleged responsibility for the war. Reference by a Communist Deputy to a photograph of the Premier in a French military cemetery in company with the American Ambassador, Myron T. Herrick, in which the two men were apparently smiling, precipitated a heated debate, in which the Premier vehemently denied the allegation, and declared that the Communists, in order to further their campaign of calumny, had circulated this photograph throughout the country. M. Viviani, former Premier under the Presidency of M. Poincaré, leaped to his feet at the session of July 5 and delivered an impassioned impromptu speech defending M. Poincaré, declaring himself solely responsible, as Premier, for France's actions on the eve of the war, and recapitulating the events in such a way as to bring tears to the eyes of many. M. Poincaré, with streaming eyes, embraced him after he had finished, and other Deputies crowded around him, shaking his hand; the whole Chamber gave signs of being moved to the depths, and the Communist Deputy, when he sought to renew his attack, was hissed and forced to leave the Chamber. On the following day the Chamber, by a vote of 532 votes to 64, approved the Premier, and recorded its contempt "for the campaign of calumny organized to enable Germany to escape the responsibilities for the war, in spite of the evidence of facts, and the avowals contained in the signed Treaty of Versailles, and confirmed by the Reichstag."

The Premier also received a vote of confi-

dence from the Chamber on June 16 on the question of the eighteen-month service army bill, the issue on which M. Poincaré demanded confidence being his proposal to extend the exemption to the eldest son of a family of four fatherless children, instead of five, as the Government had previously agreed. The measure was passed by the Chamber on June 22, despite the plea of M. André Lefèvre, former Minister of War, for the maintenance of the two-year term of service until the recruiting laws had brought the enlisted force to 400,000 men. Though M. Lefèvre's portrayal of "a prosperous Germany with the framework of a big army ready for a call at any time" commanded close attention, his amendment received only nine votes. Measures affecting only the internal organization of the army were passed on July 8.

When the Parliament adjourned for the Summer on July 8, certain important matters were left hanging in the air, notably the treaties concluded at Washington. Despite the Premier's efforts to secure ratification, these treaties were not acted on. The ratification of the Wiesbaden and subsequent agreements with Germany for reparations in kind were also to have been deferred to the October session, but M. Loucheur, the French negotiator of the Wiesbaden compact, persuaded the Commission on Foreign Affairs that no ratification was necessary, and that all the commission needed to do was to approve the agreements, and to leave it to the Government to sign and apply them when it so desired.

The Chamber approved this procedure later.

Khai Dinh, Emperor of the French protectorate of Annam, French Indo-China, arrived in France on June 21 and was received with royal honors by Albert Sarraut, Minister of the Colonies, and saluted by an imposing array of troops. The Emperor was surrounded by mandarins, gorgeously costumed in silken gowns and wearing many jewels.

With regard to France's army in Syria, the Chamber on June 23 accepted the Premier's compromise measure, appropriating 107,000,000 francs for the maintenance of 35,000 troops in Syria for a period of nine months. The first estimate was 180,000,000 francs. When efforts were made to reduce the Syrian forces to 12,000 men, the Premier threatened to demand a vote of confidence.

Tunis is about to have a new political charter. The only representative body in this French dependency hitherto has been an Assembly without any real power. France proposes to give the members a deliberative voice in financial affairs and to introduce restricted suffrage. Local councils will also be organized to give the natives a voice in their government.

Sidi Mohammed Ben Nasr, the Bey of the French protectorate of Tunis, died in the City of Tunis on July 10, 67 years old. He had occupied the throne since 1906, when he succeeded his cousin, Sidi Mohammed el Hadi, under control of a French Minister Resident, who is also Tunisian Minister of Foreign Affairs under a treaty signed June 8, 1883, after the French had invaded and conquered the country.

[American Cartoon]



—N. E. A. Service

THE WANDERING MINSTRELS



# SPAIN AND PORTUGAL

[PERIOD ENDED JULY 10, 1922]

## SPAIN

**I**N the debate on Morocco that occurred in the Spanish Chamber of Deputies on July 2, the opinion that Spain must continue to hold her territory in Morocco at every cost was expressed by several of the most prominent political leaders. Count Romanones, who favored the establishment of a civil protectorate, linked the issue with that of Tangier; if Spain gave up Morocco, it would also have to abandon its rights in Tangier, he declared. Ex-Premier Maura agreed that it was impossible to give up Morocco, and said that military action must continue, but he did not think that this would prevent the introduction of a civil protectorate. Premier Sanchez Guerra for the Government declared there was no intention of withdrawal, but pointed out that a civil protectorate could not be established overnight. He defended the Government's action in allowing some 20,000 soldiers to return home. As for Tangier, he stated that when the international conference between Spain, France and Great Britain was finally held, Spain would be prepared on every point to defend the nation's prestige and honor. An official report issued on June 19 stated that all objectives in Morocco had been attained in the recent fighting, the Spanish suffering some thirty casualties.

The international conference on Tangier referred to above was the subject of discussion between Premier Poincaré and Premier Lloyd George at their meeting in London in June. This Moroccan city, with the surrounding area of some 140 square miles, was taken over by the European powers after the Algeciras conference in 1906. Since the World War it has remained nominally under an international régime, but practically it has been chiefly administered by the French, who are now actively moving to extend their Moroccan domain to include Tangier. Great Britain is said to support France in this ambition, but Spain is strongly opposed, hence the reference by Señor Sanchez Guerra to the "nation's honor." The Spanish Cabinet, it was reported on July 5, was endeavoring to have the conference postponed for two months.

Benjamin Fernandez y Medina, the Uruguayan Minister to Madrid, at the end of June sent to Montevideo the text of the arbitration treaty concluded between Uruguay and Spain on March 23. This is the broadest treaty yet signed between Spain and any other nation in its provisions for general arbitration.

## PORTUGAL

The Portuguese Government, whose destinies have been guided by Antonio da Silva since February, has shown no sign of weakening in its aggressive policy toward revolutionists. The very

fact that a Portuguese Cabinet has endured for nearly six months is a good index to Señor da Silva's strength and ability. The successor of Cunha Leal has had the courage to war on the Republican Guard actively, to disperse it and to prosecute those guilty of disturbing the public peace, irrespective of rank or station. An evidence of the Government's determination was seen late in June, when it arrested Colonel Liberato Pinto, commander of the Republican Guard, and other officers of high rank, and deported Colonel Pinto a few days later to the Azores, on the proved charge of sedition. Colonel Pinto, former President of the Council from November, 1920, to February, 1921, was the organizer of the movement of revolt which overthrew the Machado Ministry in May, 1921. A court-martial had sentenced him to one year of imprisonment for perjury. The deportation was in accordance with a plan announced several weeks ago, intended to remove active enemies of public order from the country. The Government was resolutely pursuing its aim of pacifying the nation, while working slowly, but steadily, toward reconstruction.

The culmination of the heroic flight of Captain Sacadura and Captain Coutinho, the Portuguese aviators who left Portugal by the air route in April, to fly to Rio de Janeiro, was announced on June 17, when the aviators, after new troubles, completed the final lap of the 4,000-mile trip by flying from Pernambuco to Rio de Janeiro. The Brazilian capital gave them a tremendous welcome, and a purse of \$50,000 was raised for them by public subscription. Lisbon, on hearing the news, went wild with joy. The Portuguese President declared that the two fliers were "the greatest Portuguese since the sixteenth century."

[German Cartoon]



Wahre Jakob, Stuttgart

### THE GOLD DOLLAR

There will be no peace in the world until this monster is in the abyss.



# ASSASSINATION OF GERMANY'S FOREIGN MINISTER

[PERIOD ENDED JULY 15, 1922]

*Dr. Walter Rathenau's death at the hands of Royalist plotters brings strength rather than weakness to the republic—Efforts to obtain a long delay on future reparation payments achieve a degree of success*

[German Cartoon]



—Kladderadatsch, Berlin.

## GERMANY'S LOSS OF SILESIA

As the Germans of Germany and those of Upper Silesia are separated by the new boundary, they are represented as saying "au revoir, but not good-bye"

**T**HE German Republic has just passed through one of the most critical months of its existence. When Dr. Walter Rathenau, the German Foreign Minister, was riding in an automobile to his office on the morning of June 24, he was suddenly fired upon by assassins in another automobile and was instantly killed. Six shots were fired and one hand grenade was thrown as the murderers' car passed Dr. Rathenau's.

The murdered statesman was not only the foremost member of Chancellor Wirth's government, but was the most forceful personality working in Germany for the fulfillment of treaty obligations and the financial rehabilitation of the republic. Everything indicated that his assassins were members of a reactionary group of Royalists and anti-Semites banded together to

fight reparation payments and foment revolution. It was felt throughout Germany that the blow had been aimed not only at Rathenau but at the heart of the republic itself. When Chancellor Wirth announced the murder before the Reichstag he was visibly moved, for Dr. Rathenau had been a close personal friend as well as the strongest man in his Cabinet. He recalled Rathenau's work at Genoa and praised him for having pointed out the path to the world's economic restoration. "Not only did he lay down his life for his own people," said the Chancellor, "he died for the cause of international reconciliation, and from his death all true friends of the German Republic will draw inspiration and needed strength to deal with the foes who would throttle it."

Dr. Rathenau had become one of the important

figures in the German Government in the first week of the World War, when he was appointed head of the War Materials Office in complete control over supplies and foodstuffs. At the end of the war he became Minister of Reconstruction. In that position one of his chief triumphs was the negotiating of the Wiesbaden Agreement, by which Germany undertook to deliver to France 7,000,000,000 marks' worth of building materials in three years, so that the reconstruction of the war-torn area could be carried on. This was the longest step thus far made toward a solution of the reparation question. At the Genoa conference Dr. Rathenau negotiated the historic treaty between Germany and Soviet Russia.

The funeral was held in the Reichstag Building, the first State funeral in the legislative chamber there since that of Bismarck. The air was surcharged with emotions of the sorrowing throng that filled the building. As the murdered man's aged mother looked on, President Ebert delivered a simple funeral oration in which he said:

"With bitter grief the German Nation sorrows for this man who worked for the welfare of the German people as few others are able to do. Dr. Rathenau was a man of rare qualities, equipped with great and varied intellectual gifts. He was created to be a real statesman, a leader of the nation out of the labyrinth of the times into a brighter future. The accursed murderers' bullets struck not only the man Rathenau, but

all Germany. Let us thank this dead man wholeheartedly in the name of the German Republic for all which in self-sacrificing love he did for the Fatherland."

The assassination aroused all the Liberal, and even the Radical, elements in Germany to rally to the support of the republic. Both wings of the Socialist Party united in a great rally in Berlin in which they pledged their support to the Government in the presence of a vast throng in the Lustgarten. When the Ebert Government presented a drastic new law in the Reichstag providing for the punishment of any one found guilty of advocating violence against public officials, it received the support of all except the reactionary elements. The police, in their strenuous efforts to capture the assassins, arrested several scores of suspects, including Ernst Techow, a young ex-officer and active member of a secret organization supposed to have been at the root of the plot.

An attempt was made on July 3 to assassinate Maximilian Harden, the noted journalist. His injuries, while severe, proved not dangerous. The two youths who attempted to take his life were later captured. The popular feeling against the reactionary instigators of these crimes burst forth on July 4 in a great republican parade in Berlin. More than 100,000 organized workers, radicals, Socialists and Communists joined in a demonstration "against the reaction," and "for the republic." The monarchists kept out of sight during this demonstration. Another effect of the crimes was seen in the action of the German People's Party—the party with which Hugo Stinnes is so prominently identified—in passing a resolution embodying the clearest pronouncement yet made in favor of the republic. The net result of the events just narrated seems to be a marked strengthening of Chancellor Wirth's Government and of the republic itself.

[American Cartoon]



—Dallas News

The doctor ought to have no trouble in diagnosing the case.

Financially, Germany continued during the month to get into deeper and deeper water. In the single week ended July 7 the nation's paper money was increased by more than 3,500,000,000 marks. Credits continued to tighten and prices to soar. The reduced reparation payment of 32,000,000 marks due on July 15 seemed to be so impossible to raise that the Government on July 12 dispatched Dr. Fischer, Chairman of the German War Debt Commission, to Paris to request a moratorium on this and succeeding payments. The Reparation Commission on the following day made a more or less sympathetic reply on the general proposition of a moratorium, but announced that the July instalment would have to be paid—and it was paid.

# NATIONS OF NORTHERN EUROPE

[PERIOD ENDED JULY 10, 1922]

## NORWAY

**D**R. RÆSTAD resigned the office of Foreign Minister early in June. The Conservative press had criticised him especially for his commercial treaty with Soviet Russia and for the long, unsuccessful negotiations with Spain on the question of alcoholic importations. The Prohibitionist and Socialist papers, on the other hand, praised his work and threatened the Government with serious opposition in the Storting because of his resignation. Dr. Mowinkel succeeded him as Foreign Minister, and M. Wolleback, the Norwegian Minister to Sweden, was recalled to become Secretary General at the Foreign Office. At the same time the provisional trade agreement with Spain lapsed, and it was expected that in the next treaty the Norwegian Government would accede to Spain's insistence on the obligatory importation of 500,000 litres of strong wines. Dr. Mowinkel announced on June 13 that the Norwegian Hague conference delegation would act merely as observers.

On June 19 the Government submitted to the Storting a bill authorizing the governmental measures necessary to support the Norwegian mining companies in Spitzbergen and prevent sale of the mines to foreigners. Foreign Minister Mowinkel replied to Socialist criticism of labor conditions in Spitzbergen that the Storting had no legal right to enforce the Norwegian labor laws there before the question of Norwegian sovereignty over those Arctic islands was definitely settled. Some powers had opposed such labor law enforcement in Spitzbergen under the Norwegian mandate.

Queen Wilhelmina of the Netherlands, with her family, began in June a five weeks' tour of Norway, intending to make sketches under the instruction of the Dutch landscape master, A. M. Goster, whom she invited to accompany the party. Railroad communications with Norway, Sweden and Finland via the Continent have improved considerably. Premier Hjalmar Branting of Sweden arrived with his wife in Christiania the morning of June 20, and delivered his Nobel address at the university to a large and enthusiastic audience, in which the Government was strongly represented. Counselor of State Lovland, Chairman of the Nobel Committee, made the speech of welcome. Premier Branting said that Alfred Nobel's will showed his motivation toward an epoch of world peace; that we are only at the beginning of the way to this great goal, toward which we must fraternally toil on without losing courage. All States must become members of the League of Nations, which must not be allowed to sink into dependence on one great power. By wholehearted efforts "all we small powers" can get a hearing in the world-determining assemblies.

Shortly after Captain Roald Amundsen reached Nome from Seattle, early in June, he gave out for the first time his intention to make an airplane flight over the North Pole, instead of wait-

ing to drift past it in the ice pack. He sailed with his expedition in the power schooner *Maud* from Nome, Alaska, June 28, for Point Barrow, Alaska. Thence he was to hop off in his monoplane under the pilotage of Elmer G. Fullerton, a Canadian member of the British Royal Air Force, and attempt to fly over the North Pole, and afterward fly to North Cape, Norway.

## DENMARK

King Victor Emmanuel and Queen Helena, the Italian sovereigns, accompanied by Foreign Minister Schanzer, arrived in Copenhagen June 21, for a visit to King Christian X. and Queen Alexandrine. The next day the four sovereigns and the Danish Crown Prince assisted at the ceremony of laying the foundation stone of a column commemorating the sixth centenary of the death of Dante, presented to the municipality of Copenhagen by the municipality of Rome. It is erected in the newly-named Dante Square. There was a representative gathering of Ministers and members of the University and Fine Arts associations. In the procession to the Glyptothek (Thorvaldsen Museum), the Kings marching together presented a striking contrast, King Christian looming nearly twice as tall as his royal guest. A gala soirée performance at the Royal Theatre was followed by a reception festival at the Academy of Fine Arts, in testimony of the gratitude felt by the Danish world of art and letters toward Italy. Graves of Italian warriors were visited the next day, among other ceremonies, and the royal visitors left Copenhagen the evening of June 24.

Record of the Knud Rasmussen Arctic Expedition, from its start from Copenhagen last Summer until Jan. 15, 1922, was reported in Copenhagen about the middle of June. Great possibilities for archaeological and botanical research were found during the Autumn in the Lyon Inlet country. Next Peter Freuchen undertook to chart the imperfectly mapped coastline of Baffin Land, while Rasmussen went south into the hinterland of Chesterfield Inlet in quest of two Eskimo tribes uniquely dwelling inland instead of on a coast. The plan is for Mathiessen and Birket-Smith, of the University of Copenhagen, who have been making scientific observations and collections, to return home next Spring, while Rasmussen and Freuchen, with their Eskimo hunters, will push by sledge across the Barren Grounds of Canada to Bering Sea.

## SWEDEN

It transpired on June 28 that, ordinary diplomatic methods having failed to effect a settlement of two shipping questions between Sweden and the United States, Sweden intended to ask the Washington Government to submit the questions to the World Court at The Hague. One question is anent the United States Shipping Board's claim that, because its vessels are Gov-

ernment-owned, they are entitled in Swedish waters to the same extraterritoriality as men-of-war, while Sweden holds that they are entitled to no greater privileges than any other non-Swedish merchantmen. The second question hinges on Sweden's claim for indemnity for the American Government's requisitioning, as a world-war measure, Swedish ships then building in the United States.

European powers owing debts to the United States had brought pressure to bear upon Sweden not to push this request, lest it offend the American Administration; but Sweden, not being America's debtor, showed unwillingness to accede. The United States is not one of the fifty-two nations agreeing to use the Court, let alone of the twenty that have accepted its compulsory jurisdiction in all international disputes in which they become involved.

The Riksdag, about July 9, defeated a bill providing for measures against "exchange dumping," thereby showing freedom from fear of competition from countries with depreciated currencies. The bill was submitted to the Riksdag on April 29, in connection with a report by the Swedish Tariff Commission on means to assist Swedish industries, which now seem to need no tariff protection.

#### HOLLAND

Election returns in Holland on July 7 showed a great increase in the Catholic Party for the Second Chamber of the States General, and a majority of eight for the Right Party. Seven women were elected. A majority of the women, apparently, voted a different ticket from that supported by their husbands and brothers. The presence of Soviet delegates at The Hague did not help the cause of the Communists at the

polls. There are only two Communist members now, instead of three.

Bills were passed by the First and Second Chambers of The Netherlands States General in May that ratified the draft conventions adopted at the International Labor Conference held in Washington in 1919, concerning the employment of women during the night, fixing the minimum age for admission of children to industrial employment, and concerning the night work of young persons employed in industry.

#### FINLAND

Favorable reception was given to the Swedish proposals looking toward a defensive alliance between Finland and Sweden. While both sides hope for practical results from these discussions, the Finnish public understands that Finland must safeguard her own frontiers without depending wholly on such an alliance.

The Finnish Government joined Poland and Latvia in replying to the Soviet Russian proposal of June 30 for a limitation of armaments. The reply was to the effect that no agreement to reduce arms could be made until the Soviets fulfilled their peace treaty obligations contracted with these three Baltic countries. Through Foreign Minister Enckels, who once accepted the help of the German General von der Goltz to suppress the Red revolution, Finland declared the time not ripe for a discussion of disarmament.

Little progress is reported regarding the labors of the Finnish-Russian Mixed Committee, resumed June 20, to arrange measures for carrying out the provisions of the Dorpat treaty. The Finnish Parliamentary elections were in progress when these pages went to press.

## POLAND'S NEW CABINET CRISIS

[PERIOD ENDED JULY 15, 1922]

THE Cabinet crisis in Poland, following the resignation of the Ponikowski Cabinet on June 6, was not ended until June 29, when it was officially announced that a new Cabinet had been formed under Arthur Sliwinski, as follows:

ARTHUR SLIWINSKI—Premier.  
ANTOINE KAMIENSKI—Interior.  
GABRIEL NARUTOWICZ—Foreign Affairs.  
CASIMIR SOSNKOWSKI—War.  
CASIMIR ZACZIK—Finance (Provisional).  
WACLAW MAKOWSKI—Justice.  
JOSEPH RACZYNSKI—Agriculture.  
STEPHAN OSSOWSKI—Commerce.  
LOUIS Z. MARYNOWSKI—Railways.  
LADISLAS ZIEMINSKI—Public Works.  
WITOLD CHOSZKO—Hygiene.

It was understood that this new Cabinet was a transition body, whose life would not extend beyond the elections for the permanent Parliament and the inauguration of a new President. The date for these elections was definitely set for October, when 140 Senators and 400 mem-

bers of the Diet will be named, they in their turn to elect a successor to Marshal Pilsudski as President, to hold office for seven years under the new Constitution. The present Diet, formed in 1919 to draw up the Constitution of the new republic, completed its work months ago. The complicated international situation, combined with the fact that Poland was facing new elections, explained Marshal Pilsudski's acceptance of Ponikowski's resignation. A Cabinet was necessary, he said, which was strongly supported by Parliament, in order to cope with the coming difficulties. This was not the case with the Ponikowski Government. The policy of the former Premier in respect to Poland's Eastern frontier was also disapproved by Pilsudski.

Marshal Pilsudski's plans, however, were badly upset on July 7, when the whole Sliwinski Cabinet resigned on being confronted by a Parliamentary bloc formed by the National Democratic Right and other groups favorable to former Premier Ponikowski and former Foreign Minister Skirmunt. Political observers asserted that this



bloc intended to oppose and overthrow any new Cabinet appointed by Pilsudski, and that the deadlock would continue until the President yielded, or until the Fall elections changed the membership of the Diet. The Chief of Government was nevertheless endeavoring to form a new Cabinet acceptable to the majority of Parliament.

The seriousness which Poland attaches to the danger of Bolshevik propaganda and invasion on her eastern front has been evidenced more than once in the course of the last few months. It was made clearly manifest in the new plan for economic and administrative protection of this region elaborated by the Council of Ministers on June 2. This apprehension was the main motive of Poland's hesitation in accepting Maxim Litvinov's invitation on behalf of Soviet Russia, sent to Poland and the other Baltic States, proposing a conference between Russia and those States for the purpose of discussing mutual disarmament. [See Russia.]

Proposals sent by M. Skirmunt, the Polish Foreign Minister, to the Lithuanian Government for a joint discussion of the question of option of citizenship for the residents of the Polish-Lithuanian frontier, also showed Poland's strong desire to secure and settle all her outstanding boundary problems. The Lithuanians had not replied when these pages went to press. The

step was taken in accordance with the decision of the Council of the League of Nations on May 13 that this matter should be settled by direct negotiations between the two parties concerned.

\* \* \* Undeterred by Lithuanian resentment at Poland's annexation of the Vilna area; the Polish Administration was proceeding with its economic and educational plans. Anti-Jewish demonstrations were reported in Vilna on July 7.

The American Relief Administration officially withdrew from Poland on June 15, after three years of labor, as the results of which the lives of thousands of Polish children had been saved. The Central Government had agreed to continue the financing of the child-feeding program, in cooperation with the Communal Governments, and under the direction of Ladislav Grabski.

Polish troops had completed their occupation of the second and third zones of Upper Silesia by June 24, including Beuthen and Gleiwitz. The transfer of authority had been effected without disorders. \* \* \* The Polish Government on July 4 pledged itself to return to the United States all the Polish-Americans of General Haller's army still remaining in Poland. These men were recruited in the United States, took part in the World War, and later fought in the Polish campaigns against Russia. Transportation via Danzig was to be completed by the end of August.

## EGYPT'S HARD POLITICAL ROAD

[PERIOD ENDED JULY 15, 1922]

**P**ROGRESS has been made during the month under review toward completion of the Egyptian Constitution by the Government Commission under Rushdi Pasha, but several unforeseen difficulties have arisen. The political divisions of the country into mouderiehs or provinces under Governors, and markaz, or smaller districts, are retained. The Sudan is incorporated in Egyptian territory.

All Egyptian subjects are equal before the law and have equal civil and political rights. All subjects belonging to racial, religious or political minorities have the same rights as any other person of Egyptian nationality. But this does not mean that they shall have proportionate representation in Parliament. The refusal of the commission to provide for proportionate representation has gravely offended the Copts, and the Coptic Bishop of Alexandria, vice ruler of the Church and a member of the commission, resigned from it on June 10, because he did not desire to take part in a discussion that was becoming bitter. The Copts fear that the Moslems will ultimately control the Egyptian Parliament to the detriment of Coptic interests. That question, however, as well as the sovereignty of the Sudan, is reserved for future settlement between Britain and Egypt.

Another difficulty has arisen from the dismissal of foreign officials in the Civil Service, which it was understood the Egyptian Government would not enforce before the assembling of Parliament. Nineteen foreign engineers were dropped

from the Irrigation Service, according to a dispatch from Cairo on June 27, of whom one was an Englishman (he was immediately appointed to another department), and the other 18 were French, Italian, Swiss, Greek and Dutch. They are urging their respective Governments to intervene and demand compensation, as they hold contracts that have not expired.

Public security has grown less dependable since the proclamation of independence. Murders, brigandage, robberies, kidnapping, assaults and destruction of crops are increasing. Two high Egyptian officers of the provincial police were reported on June 20 to be awaiting trial on charges of having accepted bribes.

Another dispute between Britain and Egypt was brought up by the announcement in Cairo on July 8 that the Egyptian Quarantine Board claimed the right to increase the tax for health examination of ships and passengers through the Suez Canal. The Egyptian Minister of Justice pronounced the claim legal, but the Canal Company repudiates the Quarantine Board's authority.

Dr. J. Morton Howell of Ohio, American Consul General, was nominated on June 19 to be the first United States Minister to Egypt. He is a practicing physician and a close personal friend of President Harding, by whom he was action has been taken by Spain, France, Germany, Italy and Persia, who have raised their diplomatic agencies and consulates general in Cairo to legations.

[German-Swiss Cartoon]



Nebelspalter, Zurich

#### RUSSIAN BALLET

The optimist, with casual glance,  
May think this is a harmless dance;  
But if, perforce, he looks again,  
He sees a dance of death and pain.

## NEW SCENES IN RUSSIA'S DRAMA

*Nikolai Lenin, ill and exhausted, steps temporarily off the Soviet stage—The men who will take his place—A new phase of the religious struggle—The Social Revolutionary trial*

[PERIOD ENDED JULY 10, 1922]

ONE of the most momentous episodes of the great drama still unrolling in Russia was the withdrawal of Nikolai Lenin, the de facto Premier, from all active participation in the Government and his technical replacement—for all the best Russian leaders were unanimous in agreeing that Lenin could not really be replaced—by the following triumvirate: Leo Kamenev (L. B. Rosenfeld), A. I. Rykov and J. V. Stalin (Djugashvili). Official bulletins given out by the German medical experts who attended the Soviet Premier confirmed previous diagnoses of serious stomach and intestinal trouble, combined with great nervous exhaustion, due to constant and protracted overwork. It was stated on June 22 that Lenin was in a sanatorium at Gorkii, about two hours' distance from Moscow, and that he had been earnestly advised to abstain from all State affairs for at least six months. Leave of absence until Autumn was granted him by the Council of Commissaries. Provisionally, Commissar Tsurupa, the Second Vice President of the Council, was acting in his stead.

The analogy of the new alignment to the Directorate of French Revolutionary days is obvious, even striking. Executive power as a whole is to be vested in the Inner Executive Council, composed of seven members.

Another high Bolshevik official reported to be suffering from nervous exhaustion and overwork was George Tchitcherin, the Soviet Foreign Minister, who, following his strenuous exertions at Genoa in connection with the Economic Conference, and subsequently in the making of an eco-

nomic agreement with Italy, went late in June to Tyrol to recuperate. His place was filled meanwhile by M. Karachan, a Georgian.

The commercial agreement with Italy was actually carried through by Tchitcherin at Genoa on May 24, only to be repudiated by the Soviet of Peoples' Commissaries on June 9. The Soviet notified the Italian Government on that date that the Italo-Russian agreement was "in direct contradiction" to the resolutions passed at the last previous session of the All-Russian Soviet Executive relative to the ratification of foreign treaties. At the same time the Soviet instructed the Foreign Commissariat to continue negotiations with Italy to draft an acceptable agreement and submit it at the next session of the Soviet Executive. The real reason for the Russian failure to ratify, as explained by the Soviet Commissary of Finance, N. N. Krestinsky (subsequently one of the Russian negotiators at The Hague), was that, though Italy received various privileges and trade facilities, she still declined to grant the Bolshevik Government de jure recognition.

Another treaty concluded at Genoa—the German-Russian agreement signed at Rapallo, which almost broke up the Genoa conference—was encountering difficulties in Berlin in the course of negotiations begun early in June by Maxim Litvinov and M. Rakowsky, the Ukrainian Soviet Premier. The attempt of the Soviet representatives to extend the terms of the Rapallo treaty to the Ukraine and the minor Soviet republics—Georgia, Azerbaijan, Armenia and the Far Eastern régime at Chita, Siberia—received an initial

check in the case of the Ukraine. The difficulty lay in the German demand that the clause for mutual cancellation of all debts be made to include the Ukrainian claim for 400,000 marks for grain commandeered by the Germans from the Skoropadsky Government at the end of the war. This Rakowsky refused, and demanded that this sum be repaid at least in machinery and goods. Negotiations were temporarily broken off on June 17, but it was believed that a compromise agreement would eventually be made.

As an earnest of Russia's desire for disarmament, wherever possible, Maxim Litvinov, chief of Soviet legations abroad, toward the middle of June addressed notes to the four main Baltic States—Poland, Latvia, Esthonia and Finland—proposing a conference to fix a proportionate reduction in armament in Russia and the bordering States. All the States addressed returned discouraging replies, but on July 9 it was stated that they were planning to hold a joint conference (exclusive of Russia) to consider the proposal. [See Poland.] Karl Radek, in the Moscow Pravda of June 30, declared that all the Baltic nations were influenced by France's view of the potential military danger of the Rapallo treaty. Until France abandoned such morbid war psychology, declared Radek, there was little hope of genuine European reunification and reconstruction.

Official advices in June and July indicated that the famine situation in the South was well in hand. The 150 Americans directing the feeding of 10,000,000 people—over an area of nearly 4,000,000 square miles and twenty-four districts—had worked so effectively that the back of the catastrophe was said to be broken. "We have conquered the Volga famine," said Colonel Haskell, head of the American Relief Administration in Moscow, on June 10. "Speaking generally, I can say that no one will die of hunger any more in the whole Volga area." Colonel Haskell added the following details:

"To give an idea of how thoroughly we are meeting the Volga situation, American food is being distributed in every village in the Government of Samara, which was one of the worst affected. Nor is that all; we have gone far beyond the Volga area, which, it will be remembered, was all we originally contracted to feed. Estimates vary as to the figures of population in the Volga Valley famine area. One can safely put it between 15,000,000 and 18,000,000. In addition to American aid, the Soviets claim to be feeding 3,000,000, and the other foreign organizations upward of 1,000,000. My experience in Armenia convinces me that this was a big enough proposition to prevent any one from dying of hunger.

"But it is true that, though the American Relief Administration originally contracted to help the Volga region, the famine limits were subsequently extended far beyond the river valley. Today we are distributing American food to Votskaya in the north, in the east beyond the Siberian border, to the Kalmuck tribes, in the south to Stavropol in the Caucasus, to the Don Cossacks, to many affected areas in the Ukraine and

to Transcaucasia and the Crimea. So that, although the back of the Volga famine is thoroughly broken, there is still plenty of work to do."

American relief, said Colonel Haskell, would last throughout the rest of 1922. Three Relief Administration officials, Edgar Rickard, Walter Lyman Brown and Christian Herter, who completed a tour of inspection on July 3, declared that the railway transportation, thanks to the strenuous efforts of Dzerzinsky, head of the Soviet railroad system, under American urging had greatly improved in efficiency. A special agreement was concluded by these representatives with the Jewish Joint Distribution Committee at the end of June, under which this committee and the American Administration mutually pledged \$750,000 for the purpose of feeding 400,000 adults in the Ukraine, most of the previous relief work of both organizations having been concentrated on child relief. At this time 800,000 children were being fed, irrespective of race or religion.

The internal struggle between the Soviet Government and the religious elements in Russia, due to the sequestration of church property and the prosecution and conviction of Orthodox priests for opposing the execution of the decree, took a new turn after the ousting from office of the former Patriarch Tikhon, manifesting itself, according to admissions in the Moscow press, in a storm of verbal and written attacks upon Bishop Antonin, A. Vedensky and S. Kalinovsky, the members of the new "Temporary Church Administration," which, allegedly at the Government's behest, forced Tikhon's resignation. According to the *Izvestia* (June 2), Bishop Antonin was being abused and insulted not only in the streets, but even while officiating in church. Some of the epithets hurled at him during church service were: "Traitor!" "Anti-Christ!" Vedensky, on leaving the Petrograd Revolutionary Tribunal, where he appeared as witness at one of the trials of the accused priests, was set upon by a mob and seriously injured.

Eleven persons, including the Petrograd Metropolitan, Benjamin, were reported on July 6 to have been condemned to death by the Revolutionary Tribunal (Moscow) for interfering with the seizure of church treasures, and fifty-three others to have been sentenced to various terms of imprisonment. Twenty-two were acquitted. The trial lasted more than three weeks. Among those sentenced to death were Bishop Benedict and Archbishop Sergius; the Canons of Kazan, St. Isaac's and Troitsky Cathedrals, Petrograd's largest and most imposing churches, and Professors Ogniev and Novitsky. The tribunal decided to transfer to Petrograd proceedings against ex-Patriarch Tikhon. Despite Bolshevik statements to the contrary, Archbishop John, the head of the Russian Orthodox Church in the Baltic States, declared in Riga on July 3 that Tikhon was imprisoned in the Don monastery, where other prominent Russians considered dangerous to the régime were being confined. Tikhon, he said, had refused to resign, and had been arrested and forced into the monastery, where he was confined



in a small cell and forbidden even to write letters. Bishop Antonin, he declared further, had prepared for the coming church convention at Moscow by appointing hand-picked delegates who would vote against Tikhon and give the control of the Church to the Soviet.

Intense excitement was caused in Moscow by the trial of the Social Revolutionaries accused of counter-revolution and of plots to assassinate Bolshevik leaders. The beginning of this trial on June 8 was recorded in the July CURRENT HISTORY (page 708). The Internationalist Socialists, Emile Vandervelde, Belgian Minister of Justice; Herr Watters of Holland, Kurt Rosenfeld and Theodore Liebknecht, brother of the late Karl Liebknecht, who journeyed to Russia to defend their colleagues, had a trying experience, and, after vain endeavors to secure a fair hearing, gave up the attempt in despair and departed homeward to escape the constant espionage and coercion which followed them in Moscow wherever they went. No such "trial," they agreed, had ever been seen since the time of the French Revolution. The great hall, formerly the ballroom of the most aristocratic club in Moscow, was guarded by a patrol of dismounted cavalry, and only ticket-holders allowed to enter. The hall was packed with thousands of Soviet sympathizers. Stormy scenes arose throughout Vandervelde's bitter attacks upon the Soviet's moral and legal competency to try the thirty-four accused members of the Social Revolutionary Party. The intrepid Belgian's charge that the Government's hands were stained with blood and his demonstration of the irregularities which made justice impossible were greeted with hisses. The tension and hostility grew with each session until Vandervelde and his associates gave up all attempt to defend the prisoners and withdrew, declaring the conditions to be impossible. The

Judge declared (June 15) that the foreign counsel had withdrawn "because the political situation was against them," and that the trial would go on regardless. At this time the trial had been brought up to January, 1918, when the Constituent Assembly was dissolved.

The spirit in which the prisoners were being tried was demonstrated in Moscow on June 20, when a gigantic demonstration in favor of the death penalty was staged in the Krasni Ploshchad (Red Square), overlooked by the frowning walls of the Kremlin. Blazing red banners bore such signs as "Death to the Counter-Revolutionary Plotters!" "Down With the Spies of the Entente!" "No Mercy to the Social Revolutionary Traitors, Enemies of the People!" The next day representatives of thousands of the demonstrators were allowed to enter the courtroom and address the audience, demanding death for the prisoners. Chairman Piatakov thanked the speakers and assured them that justice would be done. M. Muraviev, one of the Russian counsel for the defense, demanded on this that new Judges and a new prosecutor be appointed, pointing out that after such unprecedented action in the case of prisoners who were on trial for their lives, no verdict that would be brought in could be called impartial. His petition was denied. The first group of Russian counsel for the defense withdrew on June 28. Miss P. Orlov took over their duties. Vandervelde and his colleagues on their return issued an appeal to all workmen to rally to the defense of the accused men, whose lives, they declared, were in the utmost danger. They accused the Supreme Revolutionary Tribunal of Moscow of having broken the solemn compact made by the representatives of the Third International with the foreign Internationalist leaders at Berlin and bitterly excoriated the Russians for the unfair methods they had pursued.

## GREEK ARMY UNDER A NEW COMMANDER

[PERIOD ENDED JULY 10, 1922]

GENERAL PAPOULAS, commanding the Greek forces on the Asia Minor front, resigned from his post on May 25, on the ground that he had reached the age limit. King Constantine gave the General the highest decoration of the Kingdom, and the Hellenic National Assembly voted a special life pension for the man under whose command the Greek Army won its greatest victories in Asia Minor. General Hadzianestis was appointed to succeed General Papoulas.

The new Generalissimo, having visited the front along its entire length, submitted his report to the Government on June 28, advising continuation of the war. On the following day a great council was held in the Summer Palace at Tatoi near Otheni, under the Presidency of King Constantine. Those who took part included Premier Protopapadakis, Mr. Gounaris, the leader of the parliamentary majority; Mr. Stratos, the Minister for the Interior; Mr. Baltadjis, Minister of Foreign Affairs; Mr. A. Sterghiades, Greek High Commissioner at Smyrna, and Mr. Trian-

tafyllakos, Greek High Commissioner in Constantinople. Following a lengthy discussion of all the issues connected directly or indirectly with the war, it was decided that the Greek Army would not evacuate Asia Minor, and that every effort would be made to force a decision on the Near Eastern question.

The Greek naval forces in the Black Sea on June 10 bombarded the Turkish fortified cities of Samsun and Trebizond by way of reprisal for the massacres of the Christian population of those cities by Mustapha Kemal's Turks.

King Constantine, with the members of the Cabinet and a delegation of the National Assembly, visited the Island of Choi on June 19, where he took part in the celebration of the one hundredth anniversary of the burning of the Turkish armada by the national hero, Constantine Kanaris. The royal party also visited Psara, the scene of a terrible massacre of the Greeks by the Turks during the great revolution of 1821.



# THE MONTH'S EVENTS IN ITALY

[PERIOD ENDED JULY 15, 1922]

**I**N an important speech delivered by Foreign Minister Schanzer before the Italian Senate on June 16, Italy's need for continued peace in order to increase production and achieve financial reconstruction was strongly emphasized. The Foreign Minister defended Italy's policy toward Russia, both generally and as manifested at the Genoa conference. That conference, he said, had beyond all question increased Italy's international prestige. The admission of Russia into the circle of European life was necessary for the economic reconstruction not of Russia alone but of all Eastern and Central Europe. Signor Schanzer, in referring to the news that the Soviet Government had refused to ratify the Italo-Russian commercial treaty concluded at Genoa after the close of the economic conference, attributed this action to the fact that Tchitcherin and Krasin had not returned to Russia to defend the result of their negotiations, and especially to the fact that Italy had refused to incorporate political clauses recognizing the Soviet Government de jure.

To counterbalance this check, the Foreign Minister enumerated various other nations with which Italy had drawn closer bonds of friendship at the Genoa conference. He drew special attention to Yugoslavia, and declared that Italy had entered into an era of fruitful economic co-operation with that nation. Friendship with France, he stated, would remain one of the fundamental principles of Italian foreign policy.

A special understanding with Great Britain regarding Italy's position in the Mediterranean was reported to be in progress toward the middle of June. Such an agreement had been concluded between Great Britain and Italy in 1887, providing for the maintenance of the Mediterranean status quo, under which Italy upheld the British position in Egypt, and was herself enabled to proceed with the occupation of Lybia. The first step toward a new compact had been taken by Lloyd George in written promises to see that Italy should obtain a due share of oil and raw materials and an outlet for her population. Signor Schanzer went to London in the last week of June to discuss a new compact covering a wide field, including Italy's part in the general question of reparations and her relation to Greece, Mesopotamia and Palestine, also the status of Italians in Egypt and the participation of Italy in the proposed conference over the international status of Tangiers. It was said that Italy was especially anxious to arrange for Italian immigration to Australia and other British colonies, in view of the recently applied restrictions on immigration in the United States. Signor Schanzer left for Paris on July 8 to take up other important questions with Premier Poincaré. Before his departure he stated that, though no definite decision had been reached in the conversations he had had with Lloyd George and Mr.

Balfour, these conversations would be later resumed and carried to a conclusion.

Italy's desire to get all outstanding political and economic questions settled is explainable by the fact that she faces a large budget deficit and heavy financial burdens resulting from the war; hence her anxiety to conclude general peace settlements in order to resume commercial activities in all directions, including the Near East. On July 6 the Council of Ministers listened to a report on the financial position by Signor Peano, Minister of the Treasury, showing that the deficit for 1921-22 would be at least 6,500,000,000 lire, and forecasting a deficit of 4,000,000,000 lire for 1922-23. The Minister believed that heavier taxation was impossible, but recommended that the present tax system be revised to prevent tax evasion. Drastic cuts in Government expenses were also recommended in order to reduce the anticipated deficit for the coming fiscal year.

Official statistics showed that the heavy burden of Government pensions had been increased by 10,000,000 lire (approximately \$587,500), the total now reaching 157,000,000 lire (approximately \$9,250,000 at present exchange rates). The War Ministry is paying 56,000,000 lire annually, and the Ministry of the Colonies 100,000 lire. Of Garibaldi's famous Thousand who set out from Quarto, near Genoa, for Marfala, 459 are still drawing the special pension that was granted them in token of the nation's gratitude. Further burdens were imposed by the necessity of taking care of the half million men—mostly war veterans—still remaining out of employment. The Italian Government is striving to deal with this last-named problem through the extension of public works, entailing enormous additional expense, in the face of the low state of the nation's finances. The agency through which it is working is the Opera Nazionale dei Combattenti, organized in December, 1917.

The Chamber of Deputies on July 8 elected former Premiers Nitti, Giolitti, Orlando and Bonomi as members of the Foreign Affairs Committee. Parliamentary circles interpreted these appointments as an earnest of the Chamber's intention to exercise a close scrutiny of the activities of the Foreign Ministry. The press campaign against Premier Schanzer in connection with his discussions at London continued energetically. The decision of the Moderate Socialists on June 15 to participate in the Government, contrary to the fixed principle of the Socialist Party, caused a sensation and was hailed by the Conservatives as a sign of the decreasing influence of the proletariat.

Sporadic Fascist violence occurred through the latter part of June and the first week in July, with Trieste and Milan as the chief centres of trouble. The spread of these demonstrations became so serious toward the middle of July as to affect the prestige of the Facta Cabinet.

# NATIONS OF SOUTHEASTERN EUROPE

*Hungary's Government wins new support in the elections—Austria begins to see light ahead—Jugo-slavia plans a fifteen-year treaty with Czechoslovakia*

[PERIOD ENDED JULY 15, 1922]

THE elections for the Hungarian National Assembly, held on May 28 and June 1, hinged on the struggle between the "free Monarchist" Government of Count Stefan Bethlen on the one hand and the Legitimists under Count Apponyi and Count Andrássy on the other. The result, made public on July 9, confirmed the Bethlen Government—under Admiral Horthy's regency—and marked a signal defeat for the Hapsburg supporters. It gave the Government a bloc of 166 seats in the National Assembly, against an opposition of 76, with two neutral independents and one "wild" Deputy. The Government bloc comprises 140 regular Government Party men, 15 members of the Ernész group, 2 followers of Heinrich and 9 independents. The backbone of the Government Party is the former Peasant Party (with an anti-Hapsburg program). Of the parties supporting it, the Alexander Ernész group, calling itself the Party of Christian National Unity, includes the outspoken anti-Semites, two of its leaders being Karl Wolff and Karl Huszar; while the Heinrich group takes in the National Citizens' Party. Of the opposition, the Social-Democrats caused surprise by winning 25 seats, while the Friedrich-Andrássy men elected 12 members, the Haller following 8, Karl Rassay's supporters 8, and the independents 17, other seats going to 4 Vassonyi men and 2 Batthany deputies.

The new Cabinet consists of the following Deputies.

COUNT STEFAN BETHLEN—Prime Minister.  
DESIDOR BANFFY—Foreign.  
IVAN VON RAKOVSKY—Interior.  
TIBOR VON KALLAY—Finance.  
LUDWIG VON VALKO—Commerce.  
COUNT KUNO KLEBELSBERG—Education.  
GEZA VON DARUVARY—Justice.  
STEFAN SZABO-NAGYATAD—Agriculture.  
ALEXANDER BELITSKA—Defense.  
JOSEF VASS—Public Welfare.  
BELA TERFFY—Food Supply.

In accounting for the surprising number of Socialist-Democratic mandates in the National Assembly, the general opinion of the Liberal and Socialist press in Europe is that Premier Bethlen underestimated his control of the Hungarian electorate, and, in order to remove the curse of an absolutely non-Socialist Parliament, opened the gate to a higher Red flood than he expected. In Budapest, where the voting was secret, the Socialists polled 39 per cent. of all the votes cast electing thirteen Deputies, the Bourgeois-Democratic group winning seven seats; whereas, the Government Party won only one seat in the capital, the sympathetic anti-Semites electing six

Deputies. In the country, where the voting was public, the Horthy authorities brought all sorts of pressure to bear upon the voters to defeat the opposition candidates, but lost twelve seats to the Socialists. Besides the complaints of Government pressure on the Socialist voters, the opposition bourgeois press complains bitterly of high-handed acts on the part of election officials and members of the Awakening Magyars, the group of anti-Semites and anti-Socialists that has carried on a campaign of terrorism with the tacit consent of the Government for about two years.

After the dissolution of the first National Assembly, last February, Regent Horthy decreed, through a special provision of the election law, that no person living outside of Hungary could be a candidate, nor could any one who had been punished for alleged treason. As this barred out many of the most prominent labor leaders, the new Socialist Deputies are comparatively unknown to the non-Hungarian public. The only woman member of the Assembly, Miss Anna Kethly, is a Socialist working for the Office Employees' Union. Another Socialist Deputy, Dr. Eduard Hebelt, who is a retired professor of jurisprudence, defeated Count Andrássy and Count Klebelsberg, then Minister of the Interior, in the Sopron district, which is not considered a working-class constituency.

The Council of Ambassadors on June 27 apprised the League of Nations Council of the report of the Commission of Delimitation, which had been created to attend to modifications of frontiers between Hungary and Rumania and between Hungary and Jugoslavia. In Hungary these modifications have caused great dissatisfaction. The Hungarians say that as their country was already reduced two-thirds by the Treaty of Trianon, it could not stand new amputations. The covering letter of the Treaty of Trianon contained passages permitting hope of notable boundary rectifications favorable to Hungary, but only on the Jugoslav frontier, thus far, have the Hungarians benefited by the work of the commission. Part of the region inhabited by Wends, near the Lendva River, has been reattached to Hungary, conformably to the votes of the population. The territory comprises an area of approximately 37,000 acres, with a population of about 17,000.

On the Rumanian frontier, however, important areas have been awarded to Rumania, notably the railroad line from Nagykaoly to Szalonta. Another important award is the sector of the main line from Szegedin to Baja. By this modification a train leaving Hungarian territory crosses ten kilometers of Jugoslav territory in order to get back into Hungary. Such an anomaly does not suit the commercial interests of the region. In

general, wherever the Hungarian frontier makes a salient into Rumanian territory the commission proposed a rectification in favor of Rumania. For this reason two Government delegates from Budapest resigned from the commission. The commune of Horgos, which is a suburb of Szegedin, was made over to Hungary because it is a railroad junction. The work on the Czecho-Hungarian frontier is not yet finished.

#### AUSTRIA

Henry Morgenthau, former American Ambassador to Turkey, announced in Paris on July 13 that he was forming a \$50,000,000 corporation to reorganize the industries of Austria and help to set that practically bankrupt nation again on its feet. At the moment when he made this statement Austrian crowns had fallen to a point where it took 21,000 of them to equal one American dollar, as against the normal five to the dollar. Mr. Morgenthau says it is part of his purpose to prove to the world that it is possible to prevent the bankruptcy of European States. France has advanced an emergency loan of 55,000,000 francs to Austria (June 13) and nearly all the Governments with claims against that nation have agreed to waive the indebtedness for twenty years. A new international bank at Vienna, on a gold basis, has been organized by Austrian bankers, including the Messrs. Rothschild (June 14). It is hoped that all these stabilizing influences, acting together, will ultimately pull Austria out of her desperate financial situation.

Since early Summer the country had become more and more disorganized and embarrassed, because of the appalling depreciation of Austrian money, the enormous increase in the cost of living (the price of necessities being twenty times more than it was a year and a half ago), and the railroad, telephone, telegraph and postal strikes. The newspaper industry was on the point of collapse, the publishers declaring that only a miracle could prevent foreign control of Austrian publications.

Mr. Morgenthau says that there is less unemployment in Austria than in the United States, and that Austria needs to be treated like a bankrupt railway by putting in new capital and going ahead. The concern is to be a holding corporation for the principal industries of Austria, and will not be tied up with the new Austrian bank in any sense. One condition that it may hinge upon is the use of Austria's monopolies as collateral, and this will have to be granted by the Reparation Commission.

The plan for this financing was launched in Austrian official circles at a dinner in Vienna, given by Albert H. Washburn, the American Minister. During his visit in Vienna Mr. Morgenthau called on numerous bankers, who pointed out to him that much of their wealth was in safe places outside Austria, but with an international bank on a gold basis in Vienna they would reinvest in their own country.

The new Austrian Chancellor, Mgr. Ignatius Seipl, who has given three of his Cabinet portfolios—Interior, Justice and Commerce—to Pan-Germanists, said to a correspondent of the Paris Temps on June 20:

"As for Austria's relations with her neighbors, all parties are as one in desiring closer relations with them. We are negotiating with Hungary and Poland for treaties to facilitate the exchange of products; we are preparing for similar pourparlers with Rumania, and our negotiations with Jugoslavia will be resumed as soon as possible. Our negotiations with Hungary have encountered difficulties by reason of Budapest's recent decree forbidding exportation of cattle, but we hope that our amicable intentions in the matter will be reciprocated by Hungary. We have no intention of disturbing the treaty with Czechoslovakia recently signed at Prague. Austria desires to be a conciliatory and stabilizing influence in Central Europe.

#### CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Foreign Minister Benès declared to the Budget Commission on June 17 that for three years Czechoslovakia had been endeavoring to collaborate economically with Austria and to keep both countries on the same level of exchange. If these efforts had not succeeded, he said, it was no fault of Czechoslovakia, as credits had been granted to Austria despite the critical situation of Central European finances. To attain positive results, he added, all the European States ought to establish a plan of economic reconstruction and financial sanitation without keeping account of foreign credits. The absence of any such general plan, he thought, was to blame for the slow economic recovery.

The Chamber of Deputies discussed a bill on June 22 authorizing the Government to grant credits of 500,000,000 Czechoslovak crowns to Austria and permitting Austria to use these credits for paying its debts to Czechoslovakia. The rates of interest would not be definitely fixed until Czechoslovakia knew the conditions under which it, too, would receive foreign credits. Provisionally the rate was fixed at 6 per cent., the loan being payable in twenty years. Austria gives a lien on local railroads to guarantee ultimate payment. The credit was voted for by all parties in the Chamber except the Slovak Populists, the Nationalists and the German National Socialists.

The Congress of the Associations for the League of Nations was held at Prague in the latter part of June. Its chief result was to reinforce the more violent elements of Czechoslovakia's German minority to the detriment of the moderates desirous of loyal co-operation with the Czechs. German Nationalists in the Prague Parliament declared on June 26 that they would expel the Czech minorities from the North of Bohemia with scythes, clubs and revolvers. In order to defeat the bill for State redemption of the Aussig-Teplitz railroad line, the German Nationalists delegated to the tribune one of their most violent orators, Herr Jung. After using up his full time with an opposition speech, Jung camped on the platform, dined there, and, four hours later, when he still refused to leave the tribune, the Parliament guard was called. The guard had a furious hand-to-hand fight with forty German and Magyar Deputies who surrounded the tribune. In vain the German Socialists and



Czech Deputies tried to re-establish order. Finally, with the aid of Czech Deputies, the guard succeeded in expelling Jung and clearing the tribune. Thirteen guards were wounded, one seriously. Then the German and Communist Deputies refused to take their seats and the redemption project was unanimously adopted by the Czechoslovak Deputies.

Up to the Autumn of 1921, the American Relief Administration, with Herbert Hoover at the head, collaborated with the Czechoslovak Child Relief Society, whose head is Miss Alice Masaryk. Every day during the critical period of April, 1919, to April, 1920, these two organizations fed 52 per cent. of the 600,000 underfed children. At one time they fed 85 per cent., distributing 496,470 daily portions, besides distributing 96,091 pairs of boots and shoes, 93,000 pairs of stockings, and 113,632 overcoats. In two years 50,000 children were medically examined, greatly to the benefit of the child health of the nation. Dr. Karel Fahoun's pamphlet, "Hoover in Europe," published in English and Czech, tells of over 1,250,000,000 meals distributed to European children, and of the distribution of millions of yards of cloth, hundreds of wagon-loads of codliver oil, and thousands of wagon-loads of soap. In the Spring of 1921 hundreds of American and local doctors spread themselves over the field of operations, and after examining the children found that the generous gift of America had saved hundreds of thousands of European children from death or stunted growth.

#### JUGOSLAVIA

A fifteen-year renewal of the Treaty of Alliance between Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia is planned by the Yugoslav Ministry, in accordance with the suggestion of the Czechoslovak Premier, Dr. Benès, who visited Belgrade at the time of the royal wedding. In an interview Dr. Benès emphasized the greatly enlarged scope of the proposed treaty which is to take the place of the present agreement for the defense of the Treaty

of Trianon. The new alliance will have a more general character, the visiting Premier stated, and will be a guarantee of mutual support in foreign relations in other directions, thus helping to consolidate this part of Europe. "We wish to show that we have the will and the power to manage our own affairs," he remarked. "We have agreed to make a new treaty on a firm basis for the maintenance of the present political system in Southern Central Europe."

Threatening letters were received by King Alexander while on his honeymoon, and also by Premier Pashitch and other officials at Belgrade. The letters came from the King's brother, Prince George, who is somewhere in French territory, and who, though a year older than King Alexander, was forced to renounce his rights as Crown Prince in 1909. Belgrade dispatches stated that the French authorities would be asked to take steps toward placing the rebellious Prince in a sanatorium.

During a stormy session of Parliament on June 21, which lasted until 1 o'clock in the morning, the whole opposition, consisting of Agrarians, Socialists, Republicans and Clericals, walked out in a body after bitterly denouncing the new electoral law, leaving only 164 votes to be cast out of the total of 400. The law was passed by a majority of 159 to 5. Even the Democratic Party was split over this debate, and the Coalition Government was shown to be in a precarious situation. Realizing that the present Parliament is unable to hold together any longer, the Government is trying to do no more than pass the budget bill and the bill for raising a loan in America before the inevitable new elections.

Jugoslavia accuses Bulgaria of official participation in the organization of lawless bands which are making frequent raids into Southern Serbia. The Yugoslav, Rumanian and Greek Governments are reported to be drafting an appeal to the Council of the League of Nations for legal sanction to pursue and arrest the marauders by force. The Bulgarian Minister in Belgrade contends that the Serbs and Greeks are merely seeking an excuse to occupy Bulgaria.

## DUAL GOVERNMENT IN TURKEY

[PERIOD ENDED JULY 15, 1922]

CONSTANTINOPLE, the ancient capital of the Turk, occupies a unique position in modern history. Calmly, and apparently without resentment, the Turks go about their business, viewing with indifference the interallied occupation of their chief city, the three-fold military rule of British, French and Italian soldiers, and the supreme control of the interallied commission, dominated mainly by the British High Commissioner.

Meanwhile Mustapha Kemal Pasha, entrenched with his Nationalists at Angora, declares that the Sultan is a prisoner of war, and that the Nationalists represent the real Turkish Government. Izzet Pasha, the Sultan's Foreign Minister, a mild, elderly man with a gray mustache and an

inclination toward portliness, is denounced by the insurgent Government as a traitor, on the ground of what is believed to be overfriendliness to the British. This is the situation at Constantinople.

Though little fighting has gone on in recent weeks, Mustapha's army still stubbornly faces the Greek forces, and to every appearance represents a nut which the Greeks, after repeated attempts, have found too hard to crack. The Greek forces include 110,000 rifles; the Turks have 70,000. The Turks, however, are known to be improving their military strength from unnamed sources. Despite their numerical superiority, the Greeks have been delaying further offensives, mainly because of the difficulty of the terrain.



The Greeks, however, have shown activity in the Black Sea. On June 7 a Greek squadron bombarded Samsun, on the ground that large munition supplies were stored there. Though they declared that these munition dumps were their sole objective, there were some 100 casualties. The Nationalists subsequently (June 9) lodged a formal protest against the bombardment of this allegedly "open town" with the Allied High Commissioners. Some light may be gained from the fact that Samsun has long been used by the Kemalists as one of their chief liaison ports with the Bolsheviks for military supplies. A well-known correspondent cabled to a New York paper on July 3 that the Kemalists had established no fewer than four naval bases on the Black Sea, and that they had created a submarine base near Kerasunt, where, under the direction of Commander von Hochwetter, former executive officer of the German cruiser Breslau, they had been repairing the German submarine U-11, which torpedoed the hospital ship Portugal in 1915; the important parts were being supplied from a Russian factory. When this is completed, the Kemalists will have three submarines, with which they hope to paralyze Greek naval activity in the Black Sea, to keep their communications with the Russians open, and to prevent further raids and bombardments.

The French alliance with Kemal is standing firm. On June 16 the Angora Government acceded to the French demand for an apology and reparations for damage and desecration of French Moslem cemeteries in Cilicia after the withdrawal of the French forces from that province, in violation of the recent Franco-Turkish treaty. In Aintab Cemetery, Cilicia, on this date, Kemal troops saluted the French flag, while a Nationalist band played the "Marseillaise."

The British Government, late in June, intimated in a note to the French Government that the long delay in effecting peace in Anatolia must come to an end, and that the allied proposals for such a peace sent to Angora on March 26 must have a decisive answer, or else the Allies should wash their hands of the whole problem and publish the facts of their failure. The French answer expressed disinclination to break off negotiations, and suggested a renewal of the allied proposals. It was agreed that the holding of a new Near East Conference on Turkey was desirable.

Meanwhile on June 13 there came new charges of atrocities committed by the Nationalists against the hapless Greek population remaining in their power. All Athens was horrified by the reported massacre of 15,000 Greek women and children in the district of Rhodopolis. Dr. Ward, the American relief worker who was deported last March by the Kemal authorities from Harput, on June 25 presented his report on the Greek atrocities in Turkey to the State Department at Washington. The story he told of the Greek deportation, in which thousands met their death, was a harrowing one. Fully 20,000 driven toward the bleak mountains of Turkish Armenia perished on the way. "Allah killed them," was the defense of the Turkish authorities. The Ke-

malist policy, declared Dr. Ward, was extermination of all the Christian minorities, and unless the civilized world intervened, some 300,000 Greeks and 100,000 Armenians in Asia Minor were doomed.

The interallied project of sending a mission of investigation to Turkey has thus far made very little progress. Great Britain, France and the United States accepted the proposal in principle, but on July 14 it was stated in London that Mustapha Kemal was reluctant to admit such a commission of inquiry, even though its investigations be limited to last year.

#### IRAQ

Bagdad advices of July 14 stated, that the treaty between England and Mesopotamia was practically ready for signature. Under its provisions, Irak is to be an independent constitutional State. Negotiations were proceeding for an English loan of \$10,000,000 for irrigation and the agricultural development of the country.

On June 23 it was reported that the Sultan of Nejd had repudiated the treaty recently reported concluded with Irak, under which the Sultan renounced his privilege of exacting tribute from certain Irak border tribes.

#### PALESTINE

The Palestine mandate, in the face of English Parliamentary storms, is marching on, but the Arab opposition to Jewish predominance is still formidable. Sir Herbert Samuel, the British High Commissioner, defended the mandate and the Zionist State at a large gathering of Parliamentarians of all parties assembled in London at the end of May.

Papal protests against the British mandate were published toward the middle of June. The Pope took the position that the Jews were entitled to equal civic rights in Palestine, but not to an unfair predominance and privilege over other races and other religious faiths, and that the rights of Christianity must be adequately guarded. He especially objected to the interests of Roman Catholics being referred to a special commission, as proposed in Article 14 of the proposed mandate, unless Catholic representatives be elected, and further urged that the control of churches in Palestine be administered by the representatives of the religion to which they have long been assigned. In answer to this protest, the British Government early in July sent a note to the Secretary General of the League of Nations, giving details of a plan for the definition of all such religious rights, and their safeguarding. Nothing would be done in Palestine, the note declared, that might be construed as negligence or indifference to Christian sentiments. The Pope received Sir Herbert Samuel in audience at the Vatican on July 6.

An animated debate in the House of Lords on June 21 resulted in the rejection of the British mandate, as formulated, despite all the eloquence of the aged Earl of Balfour, who denied that the Zionists would usurp political power, and ridiculed all the fears expressed by British opponents that any injustice to the minorities would

be done under British supervision. The House of Commons on July 4 upheld the mandate, by a vote of 292 to 35, after a strong speech by Sir W. Joyson-Hicks against the mandate had been answered by Winston Churchill, the Colonial Sec-

retary, in clear and convincing wise. Mr. Churchill especially defended the Rutenberg electrical concession, despite the charges published in a London paper exposing Rutenberg's revolutionary activities under the Czar.

## SOUTH AMERICA'S POLITICAL ADJUSTMENTS

*Reduction of land armaments proposed by Chile as a subject to be discussed at the Pan-American Conference of 1923—Suppression of revolutionary disturbances in sundry republics*

[PERIOD ENDED JULY 15, 1922]

### ARGENTINA

THE President-elect of Argentina, Dr. Marcelo T. de Alvear, who has been Argentine Minister in Paris since the beginning of 1917, on his way back to Buenos Aires stopped in Spain to confer with King Alfonso, with whom he discussed the latter's projected visit to Argentina. Before reaching his country Dr. Alvear accepted a Presidential invitation to be the guest of Brazil in Rio Janeiro. On leaving Paris his colleagues of the diplomatic corps entertained him at luncheon.

Great rejoicing is experienced in the adjoining provinces of Jujuy, in Argentina, and Santa Cruz, in Bolivia, because of the determination with which the work on the railway from Oran to Yacuiva, on the international boundary, is pushed from the Argentine side. It is expected that while the ground is being cleared from the frontier to Santa Cruz, preparatory to laying down the tracks, a group of Argentine capitalists will establish a truck service for both passenger and freight traffic between this point and the railroad terminal.

The physicians of Argentina, associated in a syndicate group, have published the results of a census of their own, according to which there are at present in the republic about 5,000 men and women practicing the medical profession, or, roughly, one physician for every 2,000 inhabitants.

### BRAZIL

The close contest over the Presidency of Brazil has been decided by Congress. The military element, which favored the candidacy of Dr. Nilo Pecanha, asked that a court of honor be designated to decide between him and the civil party candidate, Dr. Arturo Bernardes. Congress refused this petition, with the result that Dr. Bernardes has been formally recognized as the President-elect of the republic. He will take office on Nov. 15. It has been decided to hold a new election for the office of Vice President, owing to the recent death of Señor Urbano Santos, who was the Government candidate at the recent elections, the Supreme Court having denied the petition of his opponent, Dr. Seabra, that he be allowed to take the place.

The decision by Congress on the Presidential election was taken on June 6. On July 5 part of the garrison of Fort Copacabana, protecting the bay of Rio Janeiro, rose in revolt, under the leadership of one of the minor officers, a son of former President Admiral Deodoro da Fonseca, the principal sustainer of the candidacy of Pecanha. The revolt, being directed by several young officers of the navy only, and failing to spread to the entire garrison of the capital, was easily suppressed by some energetic measures on the part of the Government. The immediate cause of the revolt is attributed to the imprisonment of Mariscal da Fonseca, which, however, lasted only twenty-four hours, and was declared by the military authorities to be merely a disciplinary measure called for by certain strong utterances of the former President. The following day all was reported as usual in the entire territory of the republic.

The Presidential message, read before Congress by Dr. Pessoa, announced that the national revenue was far below expectations, but expenses were proportionately reduced. Treasury receipts were 61,149 gold contos and 468,235 paper contos, expenditures being 53,034 gold contos and 547,588 paper contos. The foreign debt is made up as follows: £102,930,000, 32,429,000 francs, and \$50,000,000. The internal debt reaches 1,343,947 paper contos. Gold reserves amount to 83,766 contos.

It is expected that 25 countries will be represented at the Brazilian Centennial Exposition to be inaugurated in Rio next September. Seven departments of the United States Government, including Agriculture and the Post Office, have sent exhibits to be displayed in the great stone building now under construction at a cost of \$1,000,000. This palace is to remain to house the American Embassy in Rio. Twenty-nine States of the Union have agreed to present their staple products at the fair. An American squadron is to visit Brazil at the time of the inauguration of the exposition, and it is expected that Secretary Hughes will head the mission representing the United States at the celebrations. The members of the mission have received the following message from President Pessoa:

"The ties between Brazil and the United

States originate not only in our continental unity and commercial interests, but also in our history. We admire the Americans, whose institutions have inspired our republican spirit, national conscience and form of Constitution. Therefore it will be gratifying to the Government of Brazil for Americans to visit Brazil in order better to understand and participate in the celebrations of the centenary. They will find a warm welcome."

In connection with the preparatory work of the American commission, Director General Collier asked the President that Resident Commissioner Frank A. Harrison be removed on several charges involving the finances and policies of the commission. The request was temporarily denied by President Harding while officials of the State Department investigate the charges.

The Brazilian Government has invited the neighboring countries to send delegates to the second South American Railway Conference, to be held in connection with the centennial festivities. The first meeting took place in Buenos Aires in 1910.

#### CHILE

The Chilean Congress has raised the rank of diplomatic representation in Argentina and Brazil to that of Ambassadorship. Argentina has reciprocated by like action, and Brazil is expected shortly to do the same. This movement is symptomatic of the close relations among the three leading republics of South America.

Unanimous applause has greeted the Chilean proposal made at the board of the Pan-American Union in the name of Chile by its Ambassador in Washington that the subject of reduction of land armament be included in the agenda at the meeting of the Pan-American Conference in Santiago de Chile next March. The proposal is at present under consideration by the Board Committee on Program, whose presiding officer is the Secretary of State of the United States.

Beginning with August, 1922, Chilean coastal trade will be confined to ships flying the national flag, thus excluding from this profitable business several foreign companies, among which a subsidiary of the Royal Mail is the greatest beneficiary. While the English press admits that the measure is legitimate from the point of international law, British shippers still trust in the working out of economic forces; for, as they declare, while Chilean trade can submit to such restrictions now while things are slack, it will find as soon as business revives that there are not enough Chilean vessels to serve its needs. It is said that Peru contemplates the passing of a similar law.

#### COLOMBIA

A debate has been started between the Liberal organ *El Tiempo* and *El Nuevo Tiempo*, Conservative, as to the merits and drawbacks of the law that abolished the death penalty in Colombia in 1910. Conservative members of Congress point to the crime wave during the last twelve years, and have asked the Government for comparative statistical data for the periods preceding and following the abolition of capital punishment.

The Japanese Government has sent a complete exhibit of native products to Bogota, which will be thrown open to the public at the capital and other cities under Government patronage. A corporation has been formed in Japan under the name of *Compañía Colombo-Nipona*, the double aim of this company being the presentation of Colombian products and raw material in Japan and the propaganda of Japanese manufactures and products in Colombia. It is expected in this connection that in a short time diplomatic relations of some kind will be established with Japan.

The preliminary studies for the improvement works along the course of the Magdalena River, which are in the hands of a German concern, the Jules Berger Consortium, are well under way. The engineers' commission has been divided into two groups, one in charge of surveying the upper portion of the river and the other operating on the lower lands.

#### PARAGUAY

During the latter part of June and the beginning of July, troops under the leadership of Colonel Chirife marched against Asuncion, the capital, and in four consecutive attacks tried to drive from power the Government under President Eusebio Ayala. The decision of the Senate, reversing the vote of Congress for the holding of Presidential elections at once, was the immediate cause of the uprising. For a month the faction of the Radical Party headed by former President Schaeffer had been endeavoring to put an end to the temporary Presidency of Dr. Ayala, who was designated for the post after the resignation of President Gondra. As stated in *CONTEMPORARY HISTORY* for June, the Gondra group of the Radical Party held that, inasmuch as in only a few months the legal period for which Dr. Gondra was elected would come to an end, the best course was to let Provisional President Ayala continue until then, thus avoiding unnecessary political disturbances during a period of heavy financial and economic embarrassment. After five unsuccessful attempts, the rebel forces withdrew some forty miles from the capital. The President himself had directed the defense, seconded by Señor Gondra and other prominent civilians, while the Government gunboats *Riquelme* and *Triunfo* shelled the rebel wings. Some time later the *Riquelme* bombarded the revolutionary position at Encarnacion, the railway head of the line communicating with Argentina. In the meantime Government land forces were sent to drive Chirife from his positions.

The attack on Asuncion cost the rebels many dead and wounded, the Government losses being relatively small. The tower of the cathedral was damaged, as well as some public buildings. It is assumed that the revolt has been practically checked.

#### URUGUAY

While celebrating mass in the cathedral of Montevideo on June 18, Archbishop Juan Francisco Aragon was attacked by a man who fired five shots from a revolver and then pursued the prelate to the sacristy. Two bullets hit the Arch-



bishop, one of them perforating the abdomen, thus making a very dangerous wound. The criminal is of Spanish nationality, 23 years old. A panic among the worshippers started by the attack upon the prelate caused several minor accidents.

Don Luis Alberto de Herrera, Presidential candidate of the Conservatives, has begun his political campaign throughout the republic, followed closely by the leader of the Colorado Party, ex-President Battle-Ordóñez.

During the last few weeks 3,000 immigrants have landed in Montevideo and several steamers are announced with equally large quotas.

## VENEZUELA

On July 5, the national anniversary, President Gomez and his official family celebrated the day with several public ceremonies. The American Minister laid a wreath on the tomb of Bolívar, the Liberator. The day before, the Venezuelan Chief of State had carried a wreath to the Washington Monument, as a tribute to the American Independence Day. On the occasion of the national holiday, President Gomez issued a decree by which the Central University is reopened in conformity with the Government's plan of reforms in public instruction.

# TO ARBITRATE TACNA-ARICA CLAIMS

THE Chilean-Peruvian conference in Washington, after two months of discussion, announced on July 14, 1922, that a provisional protocol, containing an agreement for the arbitration of the unfulfilled clauses of the Ancon Treaty, would be signed in a few days. The deadlock which the conference faced at the beginning of June had been broken with the Chilean proposal that the United States be invited to arbitrate the conditions under which the Tacna-Arica plebiscite should be held. The Peruvian Government answered that, the plebiscite having been postponed for so many years, changed conditions had altered the terms of the problem. It insisted, therefore, that all three demands stipulated in its proposal should be considered as interlocked. These were: (1) To submit to arbitration whether in the present circumstances the plebiscite should be held or not. (2) If a plebiscite should not be held, the arbitrator to decide to which country shall be given the final dominion over Tacna and Arica, and under what conditions. (3) If a plebiscite should be held, the arbitrator to decide on the conditions to the plebiscite.

After several days of consultation with the home Governments, the delegates appealed to Secretary Hughes through their respective Ambassadors, and it became known on June 22 that a proposal by the Secretary of State, striking the middle ground between the two opposite points of view, was in the hands of the delegates. According to this, in the event of an affirmative decision by the arbitrator, the conditions of the plebiscite will be fixed by him, but if the decision is against the plebiscite the Chilean and Peruvian Governments will call another conference for the purpose of deciding how Article 3 of the Treaty of Ancon shall be fulfilled.

In the meantime, other difficulties in the way of a settlement have been disposed of. First of all, the delegation of natives of Tarapaca, born before the war, who came to Washington to ask that the devolution of the province to Peru be considered, failed utterly through the lack of support of the Peruvian Government. About the same time the unofficial Bolivian delegates left Washington, all their hopes gone as to the possibility that their demands might be considered at the present sitting.

By the beginning of July it was evident that the results of the conference depended mainly on the skill and directness of Secretary Hughes's action. Minor questions, such as the scope of the arbitration in the fixation of the conditions of the plebiscite, were discussed in the meanwhile. Also a rectification of the boundaries of the province of Tacna, with reference to the disputed districts of Tarata on the north and Chilcaya on the south, has been under consideration and probably will be one of the matters for the arbitrator to decide.

The second week in July the protocol began to be drafted. With the substitution of the term "good offices" for the arbitration demanded by Peru in case the plebiscite were declared void by the United States, Chile met practically every one of the demands presented by Peru. During the whole course of the negotiations the most frank cordiality prevailed among the delegates, and what is more remarkable, the press and public opinion in Chile and Peru have shown perfect control of popular emotion. Neither polemic discussions in the American press nor personal or official incidents among the representatives of Chile and Peru have disturbed the meetings of the spokesmen for two countries so bitterly opposed to one another during more than a quarter of a century.

The signing of the protocol marked the end of the first act of the negotiations. After its ratification by both Governments, special commissions must come again to Washington to present the case for each country and plead their claims to the territory of Tacna and Arica. This probably will take several months, and at any rate no decision can be made until Secretary Hughes's return from the Brazil centenary.

Thus, at last, there is concrete ground to expect a lasting settlement of the conflicting claims which sprang out of the faulty wording of clause 3 of the Ancon Treaty subscribed between Peru and Chile at the close of the war fought by Peru and Bolivia against Chile from 1879 to 1883. The lack of a definite protocol as to the conditions of the plebiscite affecting the nationality of the inhabitants of Tacna and Arica had prevented the treaty's fulfillment in 1894 and checked many later attempts to settle the dispute.



# MEXICO QUALIFYING FOR RECOGNITION

[PERIOD ENDED JULY 10, 1922]

**A**GREEMENT was reached on the Mexican debt question on June 16 at the conclusion of conferences held in New York between international bankers and Adolfo de la Huerta, Mexican Finance Minister. The plan of adjustment relates to all external Mexican Government debt, direct or guaranteed, the National Railways debt and certain internal Government debts largely held outside of Mexico. Payments on current interest on Mexican bonds are to be begun after Jan. 2, 1923. For such part as is not met in cash scrip will be issued. A special fund for the payment of current interest will be increased each year until Jan. 1, 1928, when full service will be resumed. The oil export taxes and a surcharge on railway receipts will be paid into this fund. The National Railways are to be operated by private management as before the Revolution, the Government retaining its 56 per cent. of the stock.

After the Finance Minister had completed his work with the bankers he launched into a series of conferences with the officials of the five largest American oil companies producing in Mexico, beginning on June 20. The companies were: The Standard Oil of New Jersey, the Sinclair Corporation, Mexican Petroleum, the Atlantic Refining and the Texas Company. Señor de la Huerta proposed that the oil companies and the Mexican Government operate jointly, Mexico to assure the sub-soil rights and the oil men to supply the money, the Mexican Government to participate to the extent of 30 per cent. in the net returns. This plan was rejected by the companies, who feared heavy taxes. On July 7 negotiations reached a conclusion, not to be signed by either party, but embodied in a memorandum to be submitted to President Obregon. It is applicable not only to the five companies in the conference but to all others who may elect to enter into similar arrangements.

American oil interests are safeguarded against any confiscatory action under Article 27 of the Mexican Constitution by recent decisions of the Supreme Court, according to assurances received by the embassy in Washington from the Mexican Foreign Office on July 7. The statement declares that Article 27, under which the Carranza régime took action against the oil interests, is not retroactive or confiscatory.

Arrangements for the transfer of more than 6,000,000 acres of land comprising the estate of General Luis Terrazas in the State of Chihuahua to the Mexican Federal Loan Bank for 13,000,000 pesos (nearly \$6,500,000) were announced on July 4. The land was bought by A. J. McQuatters, head of a New York syndicate. President Obregon issued an expropriation decree to prevent completion of the sale. After some litigation Terrazas consented and the transfer was agreed to.

Elections for the new Congress which meets in September were held on July 2 and resulted in a great increase in both houses of the Coalition

parties which support President Obregon. The Liberals and the Nacionalistas—the latter the Catholic party—were overwhelmed. The Constitutionalists, the leading party when Obregon was elected, has been split since then and the groups which have gained the ascendancy include the co-operationists, the labor men, the Social Democrats and various factions of Socialists.

In addition to twenty-seven previous recognitions President Obregon's Administration has received recognition from Poland, Finland, Czechoslovakia, Georgia and the Free State of Fiume and has recognized them in turn. The Mexican legation in Rio de Janeiro has been raised to an embassy and Brazil has taken similar action with regard to its legation in Mexico City.

A. Bruce Bielaski, former Chief of the Bureau of Investigation of the United States Department of Justice, was kidnapped on June 24 near Cuernavaca and held for 10,000 pesos ransom. On June 27, before daybreak, Bielaski wriggled on his stomach out of a cave while his captors were asleep and reached safety. The ransom was not paid.

Thirty thousand laborers went on strike in the State of Puebla on July 10. Employees of the traction companies, the telephone service and the bakeries of Mexico City and the Federal District struck on June 14, but withdrew their demands and returned to work on June 23. The strike at Vera Cruz extended to stevedores and longshoremen in June. The union dockmen returned to work on June 17, but other trades remained out. Radicals were reported in control of the city and a proposal that the State of Vera Cruz secede was made in the Legislature on June 26. In a battle on July 6, between soldiers and the tenants' union of Vera Cruz, twenty persons were reported killed and seventy-five wounded.

A central bank of issue, to be patterned on the Federal Reserve system of the United States, is planned by President Obregon, Secretary de la Huerta announced. The Mexican Government will take 51 per cent. of the stock and the bank will have power to issue paper money. Gold and silver are now the only currency. A report of the national treasurer, made public on June 28, shows a surplus at the end of 1921 of 3,558,531 pesos.

Mexico's population at the end of 1921 was 13,887,080, according to figures made public at the Mexican Embassy in Washington on June 19. In 1910 the population was 15,180,359. The decrease of 1,293,279 is attributed to the decade of revolution.

## GUATEMALA

President Orellana on July 4 decreed amnesty for all Guatemalan prisoners committed for military offenses, as part of the observance of the anniversary of the triumph of the Liberals in 1871. \* \* \* The volcano of Santa Maria on July 2 was reported in active eruption, covering the Chuva and Colombo regions with ashes.

## HONDURAS

A new Cabinet was appointed on June 30 at Tegucigalpa by President Gutierrez, as follows:

General SALVADOR CISNEROS—Minister of War.  
FRANCISCO BUESO—Foreign Affairs.  
JOSE MARIA GUILLÉN VELEZ—Interior.  
MARCIAL LAGOS—Development.  
FREDERICO C. CANALES—Education.  
TRINIDAD E. RIVERA—Finance.

## SALVADOR

More than 300 persons were drowned in an abnormal rise of the Acelhuate and Arenal Rivers, inundating the Candelaria district of the City of San Salvador, a dispatch of June 13 announced. The flood followed a two-day torrential rainfall and many houses were swept away. San Salvador was visited by another heavy storm on June 19. A week afterward the bodies of many men, women and children who perished were being recovered from the banks of the receding rivers. The American Red Cross on June 21 cabled \$7,500 to meet emergency relief needs.

## COSTA RICA

Costa Rica was linked with the world by cable for the first time on June 28, when the All-American Cables Company completed the work of laying a line between Colon, Panama, and Port Limon. President Harding exchanged greetings with President Acosta and the *Diario de Costa Rica* sent greetings to the American press from San José on July 2.

## CUBA

General Enoch H. Crowder, after having drafted a new legislative code for Cuba and secured the adoption of an election law on the American model, turned his attention to cutting down the budget, a fruitful source of wasteful expenditure. President Zayas and the Cuban

Congress, fearing American intervention, agreed to reduce expenses to the minimum, eliminate graft and reorganize the administration. Objecting to American "dictation," Congress had been slow in cutting down the budget and the House opposed the reduction passed by the Senate. Party feeling ran high, the *Nacion* stating that "the hatred of North America will be the religion of the Cubans," and advocating the murder of Americans in the streets. The Secretary of the Treasury and three other Cabinet members resigned. A new Cabinet was formed on June 16, as follows:

CARLOS MANUEL DE CESPEDES—Secretary of State.

Colonel MANUEL DESPAIGNE—Treasurer.

RICARDO LANCIS—Interior.

General ARMANDO MONTES—War and Navy.

ERASMO REGUCIFEROS—Justice.

Captain CASTILLO POKORNY—Public Works.

FRANCISCO ZAYAS—Instruction.

Dr. A. AGRAMONTE—Sanitation.

PEDRO BETANCOURT—Agriculture.

The new Cabinet was regarded very highly by friends of Cuba. It was believed to be a tribute to the tact of General Crowder, whose labors since he was sent to Cuba by President Wilson have been pronounced invaluable. Dr. Céspedes, the new Secretary of State, is fully acquainted with American methods, having been Cuban Minister at Washington. Colonel Despaigue was Administrator of Customs under Palma and was selected by President Menocal to relieve harbor congestion at Havana. Dr. Agramonte was formerly in the New York Health Department. Captain Pokorny is a West Point graduate and had been aid to General Crowder. Señor Regueiferos was Minister of Justice in the former Ministry, and Francisco Zayas is a brother of the President.

## GOOD WORDS FOR CURRENT HISTORY

**R**ALPH MONTGOMERY EASLEY, Chairman of the Executive Council, National Civic Federation, New York City, writes:

"I want to congratulate the editor of *CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE* for producing the best magazine on international events published in this country. It has been only the last two numbers in which I have become interested, and I find them full of 'meat' and not propaganda."

Nancy Virginia Austen, New York City, sends this interesting bit of personal experience:

"Several years ago three companions and I were following a guide around Rome. We were in the Vatican, and the guide whispered to me, 'But the King is excommunicated.' I was born with an inquiring mind, so I wished to learn all about it then and there. And I was ready to hurl innumerable questions at the guide; but he said in a hushed voice, 'We must not talk of such things here.' I was so scared that I did not ask another question; but ever since I have kept my eyes open for anything in print about the strange relation between the Government of Italy and the Papacy. Here in July, 1922, comes the first clear explanation of it that I have seen; and *CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE*, in which I find the article,

is so full of interesting matter that I feel impelled to tell of my pleasure in reading it."

Captain Gordon Gordon-Smith of the Royal Serbian Army, in an address on "War Propaganda" before the American Peace Society at its ninety-fourth anniversary dinner, deprecated the large amount of intriguing matter in portions of the American press, but added:

"At the same time the picture has its bright side. There is not the slightest doubt that since the war an immense number of people in the United States have been led to take an active part or interest in foreign affairs and are making intelligent and diligent efforts to inform themselves. The existence of such an admirable publication as the *CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE* and the foreign departments of the great reviews and magazines bear eloquent testimony to the immensely increased interest in foreign affairs."

Mr. E. L. C. Morse, Business Manager of the Journal of the National Federation of Modern Language Teachers, Chicago, writes:

"I am immensely pleased with *CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE* and wonder how I ever got on without it before subscribing to it."